FBIS
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PAPER COMMENTS ON HOXHA'S REMARKS ON KOSOVO

AU191516 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 19 Jul 81

["Consistent Principled Marxist-Leninist Stands--Leafing the Pages of the 33rd Volume of the Works by Comrade Enver Hoxha"--ATA headline]

[Excerpts] Tirana, 19 Jul (ATA)--In an article on the 33rd volume of the works by Comrade Enver Hoxha which came off the press recently and which contains speeches, discussions, talks and articles of June-October 1966 period, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT writes that many writings of this volume treat problems of the foreign policy, the principled struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania to expose the aggressive policy of U.S.-led world imperialism, the uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism with the Khrushchevite one at the head, the struggle against all reaction as well as the support of our party to the Marxist-Leninist movement and the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for freedom and independence.

The materials of this volume defend Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of Stalin, who, as Comrade Enver Hoxha puts it, during all his life until he died, followed a correct Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line, who consistently defended the dictatorship of the proletariat and implemented the class struggle in the spirit of partisanship. Life fully proved these conclusions of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the road of Khrushchevite revisionists.

It clearly comes out from numerous facts and arguments from life in this volume who are the Yugoslav revisionists, who is Tito, in what pastures he grazes, who is his friend, who are those that call him "communist", who flirts with this renegade.

The articles by Comrade Enver Hoxha "Titoite Yugoslavia in Crossroad" and "Who Is Responsible of the Crimes of Genocide in Kosovo" which treat of the political and economic chaos that has long since Yugoslavia in its grip sound actual even nowadays, after 15 years, because the Yugoslav revisionists have suffered successive failures in the external and internal policy and are being corroded by insurmountable contradictions, something which was shown in the best way by the tragic events of Kosovo. Comrade Enver Hoxha draws the attention that world imperialism and Soviet revisionism, together with their agents in the Balkans and central Europe want to arise in these regions the situation prior to the first world war and that of the time between two world wars, want to reestablish the areas of their capitalist interests to reestablish the alliances and the old spheres of influence, want to set against one another and quench the peoples of the Balkans and central Europe in blood, to arouse the old hostilities.

The Party of Labour of Albania, proceeding always from correct principled Marxist-Leninist positions, has exposed in time and with the greatest determination the betrayal of the Yugoslav revisionists, their ugly crimes to the detriment of the peoples of Yugoslavia and, particularly to the detriment of Albanian population. "We, Comrade Enver Hoxha says, enjoy all the rights to raise our voice to defend the vital interests of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia, which lives under the terror of the clique of Tito and UDB [former secret service of Yugoslavia] under the permanent danger of denationalization and mass extermination...since the first days of liberation and which has continued and continues with a more and more terrible savagery to this day." Comrade Enver Hoxha fully exposes the manoeuvers, the "sweet" words and tears off the masks of Yugoslav revisionists, who, in order to strengthen their shaken power, intensify the national oppression, exploitation and denationalization of Kosovo, want to annihilate and liquidate the Albanian population residing in its territories in Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro.

He exposes at the same time through powerful arguments the savage policy of genocide pursued by the Yugoslav revisionists towards the Albanian population in Yugoslavia, stressing that "this people, who withstood with a marvellous heroism the furious waves of Ottoman and Slav occupiers during centuries and who have preserved with courage and heroic determination the language, traditions, customs, culture, its personality and vitality, all the characteristics and national features, in face of all the denationalizing and annihilating attempts, such a people can never be subdued and annihilated. They are eternal and will triumph.

WHEAT HARVEST CAMPAIGN COMPLETED IN LOWLANDS

AU181636 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 18 Jul 81

["Wheat Harvesting in Low Land Areas of the Country Ended"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 18 July (ATA)--The important wheat harvesting campaign in all low land zones of Albania has already ended whereas in the mountainous and hilly zones it is intensively carried out. Meanwhile, tidings are coming in from many agricultural economies and different districts of the country on the realisation and overfulfillment of the set objectives in wheat. This testifies to the continuous intensification of Albanian socialist agriculture during the years of the people's power.

Begining with 1976, for several years running, Albania is self-sufficient in bread grains. As against 1938, the bread grains yields per hectare has increased nearly 3 times, whereas the extension of arable land area about 2.5 times.

On the basis of the hitherto achievements and the experience of the most advanced economies, the Albanian working people of agriculture are discussing the draft-directives of the 7th Five Year Plan, which envisages that the total agricultural production for the 5 years taken together increase by 31-33 per cent as against the 6th Five Year Plan.

BRIEFS

PARTY SCHOOL GRADUATION--A ceremony was held today at the V.I. Lenin Party School in Tirana, at which diplomas were awarded to 652 cadres who completed their studies in this school and in the post-university higher courses of philosophy and political economy. The ceremony was also attended by Fiqret Sheshu, AWP Central Committee member and the school's directoress; AWP Central Committee member Mehmet Karakushi and others. A speech was delivered on the occasion by the school's deputy director, Jorgji Sota. Petro Shamiti spoke on behalf of the graduates. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 14 Jul 81 AU]

KOMAN POWERPLANT MEETING--Tunnel No I of the Koman hydropowerplant was completed today and the River Drin was diverted into it. A meeting was held on this occasion. Taking part in the meeting were Spiro Koleka, Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; Pali Miska, Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; Minister of Energy Prokop Murra; Construction Minister Rahman Hanku; Sulejman Bushati, first secretary of the Shkoder District AWP Committee; and others invited from neighboring districts and from the hydropowerplant of Fierze. The inauguration ribbon was cut by Pali Miska. Rahman Hanku spoke on the occasion, praising the collective and its achievements. Comrade Spiro Koleka then presented the collective of Koman hydropowerplant with the Red Flag. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1230 GMT 15 Jul 81 AU]

ZHIVKOVA OBITUARY ISSUED BY BCP, STATE ORGANS

AU211950 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] The BCP Central Committee, the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers and the Fatherland Front National Council announce with deep sorrow and enormous grief that on 21 July 1981, at two o'clock in the morning Lyudmila Todorova Zhivkova, BCP Central Committee Politburo member, chairman of the Committee for Culture, deputy of the National Assembly and selfless daughter of the party and people, died at the age of 39.

This premature death pulled out of our ranks one of our most eminent figures, eminent worker of Bulgarian socialist culture, ardent patriot and internationalist who devoted the whole of her vigorous young life to the triumph of the communist ideal.

Lyudmila Zhivkova was born on 26 July 1942 in Sofia. She was a member of the Dimitrov Komsomol since 1956 and of the BCP since 1967. In 1965 she graduated from the Kliment Okhridski Sofia University and worked as a senior scientific assistant in the Institute for Balkan Studies at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and later specialized in art history at Moscow University. Her scientific-research work includes a number of monographs, studies and articles published at home and abroad, which represent an original contribution to the sphere of history, art and culture. She was a candidate of historical sciences and was honored with the title "Meritorious Worker of Culture."

Since November 1971, Lyudmila Zhivkova has consistently occupied posts as first deputy chairman of the Committee for Friendly and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries, deputy chairman and first deputy chairman of the Committee for Culture. In 1975 she was elected Chairman of the Committee for Culture. She was a deputy to the Seventh and Eighth National Assemblies. She also was member of the Fatherland Front National Council and of the Council of Ministers' Bureau. She has been a member of the Sofia City BCP Committee. At the 11th and 12th BCP Congresses she was elected member of the BCP Central Committee and in July 1979 she became a member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of its Commission for Science, Culture and Education.

Brought up with the patriotic and revolutionary ideas and traditions in the family of the Secretary General of the BCP Central Committee and State Council Chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria Todor Zhivkov, she was a bright representative of that April generation of young sociopolitical workers who grew up under the conditions of the people's regime, was educated in the ranks of the Komsomol and wholeheartedly embraced the cause of the Communist Party. Her name and work are invariably linked with the new stage in the development of the Bulgarian intellectual culture.

Under her guidance as chairman of the Committee for Culture and her active personal participation, the tasks set by the 10th BCP Congress for nationwide aesthetic education, for the awakening and implementation of the creative talents and abilities of each man were successfully and creatively achieved. The elaboration of the long-term program for comprehensive [words indistinct] was a great initiative and creative work of hers--the children's assembly and the banner of peace movement, organized by her, were internationally acknowledged and received worldwide response.

The public-and-state principle in the management of culture was introduced by her and the artistic creative works, cultural activity and mass information media national complex was also created and developed by her. She worked tirelessly and selflessly to develop education and resolve other major issues of our socialist life.

As a chairman of the National Coordination Commission and of the operational bureau for celebrating the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state, Lyudmila Zhivkova was most active in ensuring that this jubilee would be worthily commemorated at home and abroad.

With characteristic purposefulness of mind and heart she devoted much energy and made a particularly great contribution to propagating the noteworthy successes of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to its socialist culture and peaceful foreign policy.

Lyudmila Zhivkova was an ardent worker for the flourishing of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, for cultural cooperation among the socialist countries and for raising the role of culture in the struggle for peace and understanding among peoples and also for social progress.

Widely educated and with a richly endowed creative personality she inspired the works of the figures of Bulgarian artistic culture, science and education. She rallied them and united their strengths for the triumph of the party's April cultural line.

She maintained constant and personal ties with the working people. She actively responded to their needs, and with her love for children she won respect and sympathy.

A worthy daughter of her people she will remain in their memory forever.

Lyudmila Zhivkova's death is a heavy and lamented loss for the party and for all Bulgarians. Her short life, one full of embulliant creative energy and deeds in the service of the party and the people, assigns to her a worthy place among the most eminent public and state figures, builders of present-day socialist Bulgaria.

Her name and works are an inspiration in the struggle for the triumph of communism. Let us honor the vivid memory of Lyudmila Zhivkova.

[Signed] BCP Central Committee, the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Council of Ministers and the Fatherland Front National Council.

The following commission for organizing the funeral of Comrade Lyudmila Zhivkova has been set up: Petur Mladenov, chairman; Grisha Filipov, Georgi Yordanov, Milko Balev, Lyubomir Pavlov, Nikola Stefanov, Aleksandur Fol, Petur Mezhdurechki and Milko Germanov.

Comrade Lyudmila Zhivkova's body will lie in state at the National Assembly Hall so that last respects may be said on Thursday 23 July 1981 from 0900 to 1200 and the funeral will take place at the Sofia central cemetery at 1300 hours.

CPSU Condolences

AU212056 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] BTA has reported that the CPSU Central Committee has sent the following telegram to the BCP Central Committee:

Dear comrades, we learned of the premature death of Lyudmila Zhivkova, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Committee for Culture of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, with profound grief. Death has pulled out of the party's ranks an active communist who made a substantial contribution to the building of a socialist society, to the development of Bulgarian culture and to the strengthening of the social and cultural ties between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union and also our unbreakable friendship.

Please accept the genuine condolences of the Soviet communists. The memory of Lyudmila Zhivkova will remain in our hearts.

LEADERS GREET POLISH COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

AU212040 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following telegram to Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council; and to Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic:

Dear Comrades, on the occasion of the Polish national holiday, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers, on behalf of the Bulgarian people and on our own personal behalf, we send to you, to the PZPR Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic and to the fraternal Polish people most cordial fraternal greetings. July 22 has become the brightest day in the history of the Polish people. On that date, thanks to the struggle of the Polish communists and of all patriots for national and social liberation and to the decisive aid of the heroic Soviet Army, the revival of Poland had begun. The great achievements in building socialism which the Polish people have achieved during the past 37 years under the leadership of the PZPR, in close unity and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, are evidence of the strength and vitality of socialism on Polish soil and are also a sound foundation for eliminating the crisis which your country is now experiencing.

On the date of the national holiday of the Polish People's Republic, we express full support for the efforts of the Polish communists and Polish people to overcome the difficulties and to secure further successful development. We will continue to work for the comprehensive development of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, in the spirit of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Polish People's Republic.

The Bulgarian people value highly Poland's contribution to strengthening the unity and might of the Warsaw Pact, strengthening cooperation within the framework of CEMA and achieving coordination in the foreign policies of the fraternal socialist countries in the name of peace, security and cooperation among states.

We wish you, dear comrades and through you, the fraternal Polish people success in rapidly overcoming the difficulties, stabilizing the political and economic situation, carrying out decisive measures to establish a calm atmosphere, restoring a normal rhythm of production in the country and securing the prosperity of the fraternal Polish people and their bright socialist future.

BRIEFS

SOVIET MILITARY DELEGATION--The Soviet military delegation of the Ground Forces of the USSR Armed Forces led by Col Gen Mikhail Popkov, chief of the Political Administration of the Ground Forces, which had paid a working visit to Bulgaria, left the country last Saturday. At Sofia Airport the delegation was seen off by Lt Gen Boris Karamfilov and others. The chief of the Military Publishing House at the USSR Ministry of Defense, Lt Gen Vasiliy Ryabov, has also left Bulgaria. He was seen off by Col Georgi Georgiev, chief of the Military Publishing House. [Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 14 Jul 81 p 1 AU]

HUSAK CONGRATULATES POLISH LEADERS ON NATIONAL DAY

LD211743 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, and Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, have sent a telegram of congratulations to the highest Polish representatives on their national day, the 37th anniversary of the foundation of the Polish People's Republic.

The telegram--addressed to Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers--emphasizes that the birth of People's Poland 37 years ago, amid the debris left behind by Hitlerite fascism, amounted to the beginning of the construction of a new life in the country. Thanks to the great effort of the millions of Polish working people, headed by the PZPR, significant successes have been achieved in the reconstruction of the country and along the path of its socialist construction. The Polish People's Republic has become an important part of the world socialist system, an active agent of the progressive forces striving to ensure peace and security in Europe and all over the world.

The Czechoslovak people have always stood firmly alongside their Polish friends, the telegram of congratulations emphasizes. Now, too, the Czechoslovak people follow with feelings of firm international solidarity the struggle of the forces devoted to socialism and of true Polish patriots for the defense of the very foundations of socialism and historical achievements of the Polish working people. Both internal and external enemies are using all the mistakes and shortcomings that have occurred in recent years in the political and social life of the country in their endeavor to reverse [xvratit] the profound social changes which have been shaping the face of People's Poland for decades. They are attacking the Polish People's Republic's socialist system and alliance obligations.

The telegram of congratulations to the highest Polish representatives says: We express to you, dear comrades, and through you to all the progressive and socialism-supporting forces in Poland, our support in the fight against reaction, for solving the accumulated problems and strengthening the socialist social system, so that the Polish People's Republic continues to be a firm part of the community of the socialist countries.

In the congratulatory telegram's conclusion Comrades Gustav Husak and Lubomir Strugal emphasize: We take this opportunity to confirm our determination to strengthen and deepen friendship, cooperation and bonds of alliance between Czechoslovakia and Poland on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, in the interest of unity, cohesion and a common line of action of all countries of the socialist community, in the interest of new victories by the forces of peace, socialism and progress all over the world.

RUDE PRAVO REPORT ON PZPR CONGRESS, ELECTED BODIES

AU211556 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 20 July carries on pages 1 and 6 a 1,700-word Warsaw dispatch signed "(JL, KM, PM, VT)" and entitled "For the PZPR's Ideological and Action Unity: On the Negotiations of the Polish Communists' Extraordinary Congress." The dispatch notes that "the election of the PZPR Central Committee's first secretary was carried out according to new principles. According to them, the Central Committee submitted to the congress the candidacies" of Barcikowski, Kania, Olszowski and Rakowski: "The last two named waived [zrekli se] their candidacy," the dispatch adds. It goes on to quote from Kania's brief post-election speech, including the passage stressing that "nobody should doubt that Poland is and will be a firm link of the socialist community, and our party a Marxist-Leninist party." The dispatch then quotes from Brezhnev's congratulatory message to Kania on the latter's election the passage expressing Brezhnev's "conviction that the fraternal friendship linking CPSU and PZPR will continue consolidating on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism."

The dispatch then lists the elected PZPR Central Committee Politburo members and their occupations, adding that Kania, Barcikowski, Jaruzelski and Olszowski had been "hitherto Politburo members." After listing the newly elected Politburo candidate members, PZPR Central Committee Secretariat members and secretaries and their functions to date, the affirmed chief editor of TRYBUNA LUDU, and the newly elected chairmen of the Central Auditing Commission and of the Central Party Control Commission, the dispatch deals at length with Premier Jaruzelski's speech in the discussion, citing passages dealing with "the need to reject" the wages demands enforced by strikes; with the planned limitation of housing investments; with the past period of a "systematic deterioration of the situation in the country, which process is dangerously deepening" and "cannot be explained only by the mistakes of the past"; and his "acknowledgement that in the past period the government, too, had perpetrated mistakes" and that "its initiatives for coping with the situation were being smashed."

The dispatch continues by citing Deputy Premier Rakowski's statements on "the political situation in the country being characterized by a growing tension in various areas of Poland, connected with strike preparations" the main one being Solidarity's strike in LOT, the planned dockers' strike and the planned "so-called hunger marches and demonstrations, for instance in Lodz." "The report on the situation submitted by Rakowski," the dispatch adds, "also points out the growing dissemination of antistate, antisocialist and antiparty slogans." After citing Rakowski on examples of such activities, on stagnation in production and agriculture and in deliveries to the market, making "people in some places wait in line in front of food shops for up to 24 hours," the dispatch cites Albin Siwak, PZPR Central Committee member and plant brigade leader, on "the weakening of the PZPR's worker core since 1956, which results in a number of consequences. He pointed out," the dispatch states, "that foreign ideologies are increasingly gaining influence among the workers, but also throughout society. Enough mistakes have accumulated, mistakes made prior to August 1980 and also later, A. Siwak continued. Likewise, enough bitterness has accumulated among the people, as well as anger at the former leadership and dislike toward the new leadership. He said that at present, in connection with the implementation of the economic reform, the liquidation of central planning is envisaged and endeavors are appearing to introduce the so-called market socialism, and together with this also the ghost of unemployment. The country is swamped by semilegal and illegal printed matter blackening the party, the Polish system and our allies."

The dispatch cites Siwak's statements at length, underscoring topics like the need for a dialogue--but, as Siwak asks, dialogue with whom and against whom?--the need to build a broad democratic front, while "specifying where the combat front lies," otherwise "we would have no compromise, but a convergence, a Western theory of building bridges." Siwak is also cited to have "criticized certain congress delegates for their approach to the solution of the present situation in the country. He compared them to a driver 'giving the sign for a left turn, while driving to the right, so that it is certain that he will cause an accident.'"

The dispatch concludes by reporting on the statement by F.R. Karp from Rzeszow, including the passage "on the existing dual government in the country" and "the need to fight for the party's interests to put an end to the destruction of honest party functionaries."

COMMENTATORS ANALYZE RECENT POLISH DEVELOPMENTS

Need for Ideological Strength

LD212004 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] A document was issued in Poland on 22 July 37 years ago which, under the title "The July Manifesto," entered the history of the country and which meant the beginning of a path of new socialist changes.

Later, this day became a national holiday of the People's Republic of Poland.

Frantisek Sojka, our permanent correspondent in Warsaw, now speaks about the atmosphere in which its celebration is taking place this year:

[Begin recording] The Polish Workers' Party, the predecessor of the PZPR, stood on the frontline of new changes from the beginning. It has been a difficult path, full of obstacles. In its beginning there was the economy destroyed by the war and millions of dead in World War II. The July Manifesto, which outlined the path of the further development of the country with the aim of creating a more just society, was a thorn in the flesh of Polish reaction and of the reactionary forces in the government linked with the London emigre center. The people's power, despite the efforts of antisocialist forces, has been gradually strengthened, and the regained area in the West has been resettled again. Thanks to the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the alliance with other socialist countries, Poland now has secure and firm borders. Thanks to the cooperation with socialist countries, Poland has been able to turn itself from a prewar, backward agricultural country into a modern industrial state.

The fact of the present serious political and socioeconomic crisis which started last August changes nothing. The crisis which was caused, as it is stated in the appeal to the Polish nation adopted at the recent Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, was a consequence of not observing the ideological principles of socialism. This crisis is not only economic but, above all, political. More counterrevolutionary and antisocialist forces than ever before in the postwar years have appeared on the Polish scene. They would like to use the present crisis for their benefit and once again attempt that which they were not able to do after the war: to turn back the flow of history.

The fact that they do not meet with necessary and decisive resistance is not a pleasant fact. Mainly through the so-called Solidarity they have succeeded in getting into various political and economic positions and quite publicly attacking and slandering all that which has been achieved in Poland.

The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress ended in Warsaw yesterday. The main topic of deliberations was the role and the position of the party in society, the present crisis and the ways out of it. It has been stated that the way out of the present complex situation will be neither short nor easy. The main task at present is to introduce order, and to condemn and to struggle with alien forces which increase the tension, use demagogy and disinformation and attempt to set up a government without government and against the government. [sentence as heard] This state of affairs, Stanislaw Kania stressed, cannot continue. One reason why is that the whole of society is now waiting to see how the implementation of the congress' conclusions will be carried out. Naturally, no one expects an improvement of the situation immediately. But it will be possible to judge the further direction of development from how the government approaches the planned strikes and pressure actions organized [illegible] the coming days, for example.

The history [illegible] the last 37 years speaks clearly of the fact that the methods of activity of reactionary and counterrevolutionary forces has taken various forms. But the goal has been and remains the same: the destruction of the socialist system. In the history of the whole Polish revolutionary and workers' movement, it is a known and immutable truth that only a strong, ideologically and united party based on Marxist-Leninist principles can build an effective barrier against the activity of reaction. [end recording]

Crisis 'Continues To Deepen'

LD211738 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Unattributed commentary on results of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress]

[Excerpts] What is the outcome? That is a question which is now being discussed in the mass media. For the economic and political crisis in Poland, as the congress itself stated, continues to deepen. Antisocialist forces concentrated around the extremist wing of Solidarity are ever more audaciously attacking the foundations of socialism in Poland. It is therefore natural that the responsibility of the almost 2,000 delegates at the ninth special congress was that much greater.

The sensation expected by certain circles in the West failed to materialize. That is why reports on the congress of the PZPR after 7 days are given less priority in Western news coverage. The party's intentions in the very difficult postcongress period were, after all, clearly dealt with by the party's first secretary, Stanislaw Kania.

Yes, it is illogical for the socialist state power to give space to rightwingers about whose foreign contacts and intentions there are no doubts. This will necessarily lead to a deepening of the crisis situation in Poland, to a threat of civil war.

Polish Strikes Reported Off

LD220860 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0500 GMT 22 Jul 81

[Text] Only 2 days after the PZPR congress, Solidarity again threatens more strikes. Here is a report by our special correspondent, Stefan Simak:

With the adoption of a compromise agreement, the talks between members of a government commission and Solidarity leaders ended in Sczeczin late last night. The Solidarity leaders demanded special holidays and other advantages for port workers. The deliberations took place under the pressure of a strike Solidarity had originally called for tomorrow. A television public opinion poll has confirmed that this time the preparation of the strike was not supported by the port workers. The Gdansk port organization appealed to the members and candidate members of the party not to join the strike; it emphasized that [word indistinct] against the deepening crisis and participation in actions of this type was hard to justify. A similar appeal was also issued by the voivodship PZPR committee. After the agreement was signed, the strike was called off.

The talks between Mieczyslaw Zajfryd, minister of transportation, and Solidarity leaders from the Polish airlines company also continued until late last night. Having acquainted themselves with the contents of a letter from Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski on granting financial self-management to the company in the spirit of the government reform program, they called off the strike. It was to take place on Friday and the Mazowsze branch of Solidarity was trying to drag other Warsaw enterprises into it.

RADIO COMMENTS ON OTTAWA SUMMIT, 'U.S. PRESSURE'

LD211528 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1030 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Michal Berko commentary]

[Excerpt] The Canadian capital, Ottawa, is currently being mentioned and apparently is going to be mentioned in world agencies' reports at least as frequently as the explosive situation in the Middle East, where Israel is bombing Lebanese territory. In the view of foreign correspondents the atmosphere behind the round table in the Chateau Montebello is just as explosive despite all the smiles in front of cameras and foreign journalists.

Because different views prevail among the participants in the conference on all basic problems, beginning with the economy and foreign exchange difficulties and ending with armament, they have in the end decided, at the United States' pressure, to adopt, for the time being, two documents: a political declaration and a statement on terrorism.

Both are a characteristic testimony to the continuing efforts by the U.S. administration to draw Western Europe and Japan more and more into its own global plans, at the same time distinctly on the basis of anti-Sovietism.

As one might expect, the passages on Afghanistan and Kampuchea merely complete the picture of the overall anti-Soviet and antisocialist-tuned text of this document. The document itself is distinctive for its attempt to codify the so-called principle of ("linkage"); that is, the principle to make relations with the East dependent on the East's behavior in other issues, or to put it in a different way, to bring to economic relations between West and East the selfsame blackmail as is, in the military sphere, the plan to deploy U.S. missiles in Western Europe.

The hypocrisy of this document as well as the aforementioned statement on terrorism stand out conspicuously in the forefront if we compare them with the proposals of the socialist countries on the solution of all problems, and particularly since the document on terrorism has not a single word to say about the current Israeli terrorist actions against Lebanon.

It is difficult to believe that these documents are meant to express the identity of interests of all seven capitalist countries on the development of relations between East and West, even less their interest in a genuine and just settlement of the situation in the Near East, in the Persian Gulf area and in Latin America.

JAKES, HAMAN ATTEND PRAGUE MEETING ON ENERGY NEEDS

LD211729 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Josef Haman, secretary of the party Central Committee, were present today at a meeting, held in Prague, of the heads of the departments of industry of the regional and city committees of the party.

The meeting discussed the tasks laid down by the conclusions of the party Central Committee Presidium and the federal government for the supplies of energy and fuel in the winter period 1981-82. At the same time the meeting discussed the state of work on the draft of the state operational plan for 1982, the ensuring of tasks in industry in 1981, and measures for improving the control system in the national economy and state apparatus.

HUSAK RECEIVES NEW SOUTH BOHEMIA PARTY OFFICIAL

LD171030 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received in Prague today Miroslav Slavic, the newly elected leading secretary of the South Bohemia Regional CPCZ Committee, in connection with his inauguration to the office. In a comradely discussion they deliberated on topical issues concerning the implementation of the 16th CPCZ Congress with regard to the South Bohemia Region.

BRIEFS

ANTIMONY ORE DISCOVERY--Deposits containing about 500,000 tons of antimony ore with a content of gold and silver have been discovered in the Zlata Idka-Poproc-Betliar area in Roznava District. [Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 15 Jul 81 p 7 AU]

HONECKER CABLES CONGRATULATIONS TO POLAND'S KANIA

AU211623 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Jul 81 p 1

[ND report: "Congratulations for Stanislaw Kania: Erich Honecker's Cable to Warsaw on Reelection"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, has sent the following congratulatory telegram to Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee:

Esteemed Comrade Kania:

On the occasion of your reelection to the post of first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, I extend to you the congratulations of the SED Central Committee.

We assure you and the PZPR leadership of our fraternal solidarity in the struggle for defending and strengthening socialism in People's Poland and that we shall also do everything in the future that serves the good neighborliness and friendship of our peoples.

LEADERS CONGRATULATE POLAND ON NATIONAL DAY

LD211832 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1719 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] Berlin 21 Jul (ADN)--On the occasion of the 37th anniversary of Poland's rebirth Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Willi Stoph chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, sent a congratulatory message to Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Professor Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, and Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

The message says:

The founding of the Polish People's Republic and its socialist development are rightly regarded as the greatest historical achievement of the Polish people. The building of the socialist social system, which brought the Polish people social liberation and unprecedented social progress, made possible for the first time its truly free national existence and development. The alliance with the USSR and firm attachment to the community of socialist states guarantees People's Poland the security of its borders and enable it to pursue an active policy in the struggle for peace.

Under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties a new truly fraternal relationship has developed in the past decades between the German Democratic Republic and the Polish People's Republic on the firm foundation of socialism.

Faithful to the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance of 28 May 1977, the German Democratic Republic will continue to work unswervingly for the successful development of its relations with the Polish People's Republic on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, for the benefit of both peoples and in the interests of the historic mission of the socialist community and peace. The German Democratic Republic stands in solidarity by the side of its socialist neighbor in overcoming its present crisis, in the struggle to defend and strengthen socialism.

We wholeheartedly wish much success to the Polish communists, the working class and all working people of your country in implementing the decisions of the ninth party congress to strengthen socialism in People's Poland.

RADIO COMMENTS: U.S. MAKES ALLIES TOE ARMS LINE

DW211515 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1714 GMT 20 Jul 81

[From Wolfgang Grosse's review of the past week's events]

[Text] Today it is exactly 6 months since President Reagan moved into the White House. Since then the question has at times cropped up among the allies of the United States whether the United States has a foreign policy concept at all, especially regarding the Soviet Union and concerning the problem of disarmament.

Obviously the speech on foreign policy principles which Secretary of State Haig gave in New York last week was intended to dispel these anxieties. Ever since this public appearance by Haig, nobody can say anymore that the United States does not have a foreign policy concept. But just as has been suspected for quite some time, it is not a concept for detente and disarmament, but for confrontation and the acquisition of military superiority. (?Washington) is for negotiations with the Soviet Union, to be sure, but not very soon and only from a position of strength and after the fulfillment of preconditions by the USSR. In short, Washington will be receptive to talks with Moscow only in the language of diktat, if at all. On the whole this is a most profoundly unrealistic policy which is bound to fail sooner or later.

The Soviet position was reaffirmed the other day by Nikolay Ogarkov, chief of the general staff, and Leonid Zamyatin, CPSU Central Committee member. This position can be expressed briefly as follows: First, the USSR will simply not allow any military superiority by the United States; and second, the Soviet Union favors an immediate constructive dialogue on arms limitation because time works for the arms race rather than for detente.

Anxiety about this has also spread to many politicians in Western Europe, including representatives of governing social democratic and liberal parties. Thus a meeting of the Presidium of the Socialist International in Bonn advocated Soviet-U.S. negotiations as soon as possible on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons and on medium-range missiles in Europe. William Borm, member of the FDP Executive Board, was the first leading politician of his party to demand a turn away from the Brussels missile decision, which he termed an American instrument against Europe because the unilateral nuclear armament decision disregards the interests of the Europeans. Those defending the Brussels missile decision usually refer to the fact that this involves a dual decision, namely, preparing for the deployment of the new medium-range weapons and negotiating at the same time.

Since the end of the week there can no longer be any doubt that the so-called negotiation part has ceased to exist. No less than U.S. Disarmament Commissioner Rostow--who surely has been appointed disarmament commissioner because of rather than despite his armament fanaticism just as a fox would be set to watch the geese--flatly declared that the deployment of extra nuclear medium-range missiles in Western Europe cannot be a subject of negotiations with Moscow. This is plain enough. The Pershing II and the Cruise missiles are intended for deployment in Western Europe regardless of the outcome of Soviet-U.S. negotiations. This also explains why the United States wants to postpone such negotiations until doomsday. The phraseology concerning the dual decision has never been meant seriously, at least not by Washington. It was a mere propagandistic slogan to make the allies toe the line, that is, to stick to armament.

In addition to the explosive economic material, the topic of detente will elicit controversies at the economic meeting of the seven leading capitalist industrial countries which will open in Ottawa today, because East-West trade will not be kept out of the U.S. frontal attack against detente since this trade proves the advantage of peaceful cooperation, the option of negotiated results and the futility of political or even military confrontation.

News from Washington says that in Ottawa President Reagan intends to advise the West Europeans, to put it mildly, against further natural gas imports from the USSR and to urge an extension of the embargo lists for trade with the socialist countries.

In this way, a Western radio commentary said, a discussion with many disharmonies has been virtually preprogrammed because, first, trade with the socialist countries safeguards more than 2 million jobs in Western Europe; second, a justified interest exists in the import of Soviet primary energy sources and raw materials; and third, most governments in the capitalist world as well do not want to risk political detente, unlike the United States.

No doubt it will be impossible in Ottawa to leave aside the international relations at large and the destiny of detente and arms limitation in particular, even if this is supposed to be an economic summit.

UN NAMIBIA COUNCIL DELEGATION VISITS BERLIN

AU201505 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18/19 Jul 81 p 2

[ADN report: "GDR in Solidarity With Namibia's People: Consultations With a Delegation of the UN Namibia Council Concluded"]

[Summary] "Berlin (ADN)--According to a press release a delegation of the UN Namibia Council under the leadership of (J. Legwaila), permanent representative of Botswana to the United Nations, conducted official talks at the Foreign Ministry during a visit to the GDR. Dr Klaus Willerding, deputy minister of foreign affairs, underscored on the basis of the documents of the 10th SED Congress that the consistent support for the peoples' national and social liberation struggle is an inherent component part of socialist foreign policy. The GDR firmly upholds the plan for the liberation of Namibia as contained in resolution no. 435 of the UN Security Council."

South West African People's Organization

Dr Klaus Willerding reaffirmed the GDR's support for SWAPO, the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people, and termed comprehensive sanctions against South Africa a suitable means to enforce the measures adopted by the United Nations for asserting the right to self-determination of the Namibian people. The two interlocutors noted that all possible efforts must be undertaken to compel South Africa to put an end to the occupation of Namibian territory and underscored the importance of the envisaged UN special session on Namibia.

At a meeting with leading staffworkers of the GDR Solidarity Committee its president Kurt Seibt expressed the unshakable Solidarity of the GDR people with the just struggle of the Namibian people and Dr Heinrich Toeplitz, chairman of the GDR committee of the decade of struggle against racialism and racial discrimination, received the delegation for an exchange of views. He briefed the delegates about the extensive activities of the committee in order to unmask the misanthropic activities of the apartheid regime.

"The delegation met with wounded SWAPO members who are receiving medical treatment in the GDR."

SED'S VERNER OPENS CHILDREN'S, YOUTH SPARTAKIADE

OW211429 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1611 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Speech by Paul Verner, SED Central Committee Politburo member, opening the Eighth GDR Children's and Youth Spartakiade in Berlin--live]

[Text] Dear participants in the Spartakiade, dear listeners, dear friends and comrades: In a few minutes the Spartakiade flame lit at the National Memorial of Buchenwald will blaze up in the traditional August Bebel Square in the center of our capital of Berlin. It will announce the beginning of the Eighth GDR Children's and Youth Spartakiade. It is a great pleasure for me to convey to you on this occasion the greetings address of the SED Central Committee and to convey to all participants the best wishes of our [illegible]end and Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council. [applause]

The eighth GDR Children's and Youth Spartakiade takes place at an eventful time.

At the 10th SED Congress in April this year a successful balance of our social life, including the development of physical culture and sports, was struck. The far-reaching resolutions of the 10th party congress will be the guideline for our actions for a long time to come. Our GDR is a stable socialist state and a solid pillar of peace in Europe. Its economic efficiency has grown. Our economy has developed dynamically and continuously during the past 5-year plan. This has allowed us to implement the hitherto most comprehensive social-political measures. Like in your bezirke you can see in our beautiful capital how many new things were and are being built and that old buildings have been modernized and embellished. In this respect everybody has made his contribution through diligent work and learning--the old and the young, workers, cooperative peasants, engineers and scientists, teachers and soldiers, men and women and not lastly the sportsmen and sportswomen. Cordial thanks for this. [applause]

We will consistently continue this policy which serves the well-being of the people and the safeguarding of peace. We are certain that our country's youth will contribute to this. It is with pleasure and great satisfaction that we all remember the impressive avowal of our youth to our party's policy and to our socialist fatherland at the 11th FDJ Parliament. This avowal vividly manifests itself in numerous new initiatives and deeds of the young generation for the all-round strengthening of our GDR. Socialism and youth are indeed one. Being a state of the youth, the GDR challenges and furthers the young generation and gives it a safe present and a promising future. [applause]

In the capitalist countries the youth, particularly the working youth, is affected by social needs and above all by unemployment. Many young people see their lives as having no prospects and do not have a chance to learn a trade. NATO's stepped-up armament and the production and deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in some West European countries, primarily in the FRG, threaten peace and above all the youth. But in the capitalist countries the front of the peace forces against stepped-up nuclear armament and the medium-range nuclear missiles that the United States plans to station in Western Europe is also growing.

Therefore nothing is more important today than the safeguarding of peace and thus of the highest human right, the right to live. Working and learning, athletics and physical culture, like life in general, can flourish solely in peace. Therefore, our republic, together with the other socialist countries--above all, the Soviet Union--is doing everything necessary to banish the danger of nuclear war and safeguard peace for the world. Therefore, we passionately back the peace initiative of the 26th CPSU Congress as well as the appeal by the USSR Supreme Soviet to the parliaments and nations of the world, demanding that the arms race be contained and detente be advanced. [applause] True to our state's consistent peace policy, the highest body in the GDR, the People's Chamber, at its recent session fully supported this appeal in a unanimous statement.

Dear friends, the participants in this Spartakiade are among the best students and apprentices, the most active pioneers, FDJ members and, naturally, young sportsmen. I congratulate you very cordially on the successful termination of your 1980/81 term at school and as apprentices. Your high social activities and the good results you achieved in learning, as apprentices, at work and in athletics have made us proud and happy. As systematically and persistently as you are training in the stadiums or gymnasiums, you are striving for good performance at school and in social work. This expresses your firm will to hold your own as young revolutionaries of today and as young and conscious citizens of our socialist fatherland, the GDR.

However, the results and successes you have achieved would be impossible without the diligent work of your teachers, instructors, coaches and trainers, your parents and very many unnamed helpers. From this rostrum today we therefore express to all of them our speical cordial thanks for their constant care for you. [applause]

Dear sportswomen and sportsmen, our party has always given much attention to children's and youth sports. Dur to the Spartakiade movement children's and youth sports in the past years have developed steadily and reached a high level.

In the Spartakiade movement characteristics such as practicing sports regularly, striving for the all-round development of one's personality, struggling for high sporting performance and furthering sports talents have developed. All this makes the children's and youth Spartakiade so attractive and valuable. In this context the close and trusting cooperation of all social forces, particularly the managements and boards of the GDR Gymnastic and Sports League, with the bodies of the Ministry for Public Education and the Free German Youth and its Ernst Thaelmann Pioneer Organization have proved to be a strong and mobilizing force.

This tested cooperation has resulted in almost all children and youths of the relevant age groups participating in this year's local Spartakiade contests. More than 970,000 of them qualified for the kreis contests, and the fact that at the kreis Spartakiades in June this year a total of 6,370 kreis, 367 bezirk and 20 GDR records were achieved tells in favor of the great training diligence and the grown will to be efficient. [applause]

At the 10th party congress our friend and Comrade Erich Honecker recommended that special attention should be given to the further qualitative shaping of the children's and youth Spartakiades which are a form of the broadest youth sports movement. In doing so, new and higher standards must be set for the range, variety and quality of training and practicing within the sports organizations. Our party supports above all those efforts of the initiators and organizers of children's and youth sports which are aimed at keeping the Spartakiade movement the whole year in full swing. Efforts should be made for winning all girls and boys, through an active participation in school, district or kreis Spartakiades, for regular sports activities in the school sports organizations or in the sports organizations of the GDR Gymnastic and Sports League.

Dear participants in the Spartakiade, the slogan "Spartakiade winners of today--Olympia fighters of tomorrow" to many young sportsmen in our country has become a strong motive for their own persistent striving for good performance. To this day the participants in the GDR in central children's and youth Spartakiades have won 5,087 gold,5,077 silver and 5,389 bronze medals. The medal winners include such excellent sportswomen and sportsmen as Roland Matthes, Waldemar (Czerpinski), Maxi (Knork), Wieland Schmidt, Ute (Geweniger), Marlies (Goer), Lutz (Haesling) and many others who later won the highest sports honors for themselves and for our socialist homeland as Olympic champions, as world or European champions. But the Spartakiade experience also was extremely valuable for those athletes who like Rosemarie (Ackerman), Marita Koch, Thomas (Mundelt), Barbara Krause, Lothar (Tohms) and others got no medals in the Spartakiade contests regarding their future sports career and their subsequent large successes in Olympic Games and international championship. [applause] They all should be models to you. You should emulate them by training diligently also in the future so as to take over the relay baton for future maximum sports performances.

Dear sportswomen and sportsmen, seven eventful days are forthcoming for you in Berlin, the GDR capital. Roughly 11,000 active athletes from all parts of the republic qualified in fascinating local and kreis finals of the Spartiakiade contests for participation in the 8th GDR Children's and Youth Spartakiade. Like in previous years the Berlin hosts naturally have prepared themselves lovingly for this event. For your contest for the Spartakiade medals 57 sports palaces have been fixed up, and you will be or are accommodated will in 72 Berlin schools. Numerous cultural events will make sure that you are entertained and in a good mood after the contests. Therefore, we thank the many busy organizers of the 8th GDR Children's and Youth Spartakiade very cordially who very circumspectly and eagerly have created the prerequisites to make this sporting and social highlight an unforgettable event for you. [applause]

In this sense, dear sportswomen and sportsmen, I wish you a successful course of the sports contest, I wish all participants good results and enjoyable and fascinating contests. The eighth GDR Children's and Youth Spartakiade in the capital Berlin is opened. [applause]

NATIONAL LEADERS GREET POLISH COUNTERPARTS

LD211845 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] On the occasion of Poland's national day, the Hungarian leaders have greeted by telegram Stanislaw Kania, Henryk Jablonski and Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The telegram sent by Janos Kadar, Pal Losonczi and Gyorgy Lazar notes that in the last 37 years Poland in alliance with the socialist countries, has achieved historic successes in developing the economy, science and culture and has made a significant contribution to the joint struggle waged for peace, social progress and the advance of socialism.

The Hungarian people and Hungarian communists, who have always welcomed with joy the successes of the Polish people, have heard with profound anxiety of the crisis that threatens the socialist achievements of the Polish people. Our party and people support the struggle of Polish communists and patriots for eliminating the causes and consequences of the crisis, safeguarding the achievements of people's power, and resolutely repelling the attacks of the counterrevolutionary forces.

We wish that Poland, in harmony with the fundamental stands taken at the Ninth PZPR Congress, should overcome the present difficulties and make further advances on the path of socialist construction. This is stated in the telegram sent by Janos Kadar, Pal Losonczi and Gyorgy Lazar.

THIRD ANNUAL YOUTH FESTIVAL WITH SOVIETS BEGINS

Brezhnev Greeting Conveyed

LD211114 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] Budapest, 20 Jul (MTIZ)--Gyorgy Fejti, first secretary of the Hungarian Youth Union (KISZ), and Boris Pastukhov, first secretary of the Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union (Komsomol), accompanied by the leaders of the Hungarian and Soviet delegations attending the 3rd Hungarian-Soviet Youth Friendship Festival, laid wreaths at the Budapest Liberation Monument on Gellert Hill, on Monday. The honorary guests of the festival also laid wreaths to the memory of the soldiers who died in the fight against fascism.

The opening ceremony of the 3rd Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Festival was held in the Jubilee Park on Gellert Hill, after the wreath-laying ceremony.

Present at the event were, among others, Mihaly Korom, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, Andras Gyenes, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, Gyula Biro, secretary-general of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society, Valeriy Musatov, minister-counsellor of the Soviet Embassy in Budapest, and Miklos Barabas, Hungarian secretary-general of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

Gyorgy Fejti, first secretary of KISZ CC, emphasized in his opening speech:

Hungarian-Soviet friendship is a decisive heritage for the youth of both peoples. Our peoples' fates are linked by the common theory: Marxism-Leninism, and the common target: communism. Our tasks in the protection of peace and in the solidarity with the forces of social progress are also common.

"We also have common tasks in the International arena. We are fighting shoulder to shoulder together with the progressive forces of the world, for peace, detente and disarmament. We provide a firm and active support to the sober, self-confident and responsible foreign policy and peace proposals of the Soviet Union. We condemn the machinations of the imperialist NATO circles to disturb military balance. These forces make brutal steps against national liberation movements, and endanger detente by campaigns of slander against the socialist countries. All this requires common and firm steps of the socialist countries. We oppose every attempt which is aimed at estranging socialist countries."

It was announced by Gyorgy Fejti that Janos Kadar, the secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, had greeted the participants of the festival in a message.

Following this, Boris Pastukhov, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, conveyed the warm greetings of Leonid Brezhnev, CPSU General Secretary and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, addressed to the participants of the festival and the Hungarian youth.

In his speech, Boris Pastukhov emphasized that "the relations between the HSWP and the CPSU play a decisive part in the development of Hungarian-Soviet friendship. The meetings and friendly talks of Leonid Brezhnev and Janos Kadar always give momentum to the prosperous cooperation of our countries, contribute to strengthen the unity of the countries of the socialist community as well as the international communist movement and serve the interest of peace and security."

Following the speech, the 30,000 participants of the opening ceremony demonstrating unity and friendship, saw the cultural programme with great satisfaction. The ceremony was concluded with the strains of the Internationale.

The participants of the festival are to attend a boat-trip on the Danube tonight.

BRIEFS

TURKISH AMBASSADOR'S DEPARTURE--Rezso Trautmann, deputy chairman of the Presidential Council; Gyorgy Lazar, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Janos Peter, vice president of the National Assembly, received for a farewell visit Oguz Gokmen, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey, who has departed permanently from Budapest. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 Jul 81 p 4 AU]

NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR'S DEPARTURE--Rezso Trautmann, deputy chairman of the Presidential Council of the People's Republic, received for a farewell visit Lawrence Fabunmi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, who has departed permanently from Budapest. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Jul 81 p 4 AU]

COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH SPAIN--At the invitation of Lajos Dozsa, chairman of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, Carlos Ferrer Salat, president of the National Confederation of Spanish Entrepreneurs [CEOE], has arrived in Budapest. He is accompanied by members of the federation staff in charge of international matters and a few heads of branch trade unions. Lajos Dozsa and Carlos Ferrer Salat have signed a cooperation agreement serving the purpose of promoting an increase of trade turnover, enhancement of cooperative relations and expansion of technical-scientific cooperation between Hungary and Spain. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 16 Jul 81 p 5 AU]

CONGRESS RESOLUTION ON LONG-TERM PZPR PROGRAM

LD211918 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 21 Jul 81

["Full text" of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress resolution on the preparation of a long-term PZPR plan]

[Text] The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress regards it as necessary to draw up a long-term PZPR program. This is an indispensable condition for the party to be able to cope with the tasks presented by the new period of social development. This program, adopting as its foundation the class-based and ideological identity of the party, should formulate the objectives of the building of socialism in Poland, define long-term directions of socioeconomic development and the development of socialist democracy, as well as determine the tasks of the party and the manner in which it is to perform its leading role in society.

The ninth extraordinary congress makes it incumbent upon the newly elected Central Committee to appoint within 3 months a commission tasked with preparing a long-term PZPR program. This commission should include experienced political and economic activists, prominent scientists, creative men of culture, workers, and farmers, as well as representatives of all social and professional walks of life and all regions of the country.

In its work on the draft program the commission should make use of the experience of the party and general public discussion which preceded the ninth extraordinary congress, the debate at the congress and the resolutions which were adopted by the congress. The commission should also consult the views of experts and broad circles of the public and organize discussions and public consultations on the subject of the themes involved in the preparation.

The congress hereby decides that the achievements of the commission's work formulated as a draft long-term PZPR program will be submitted to a general discussion within the party and by the public, and will then be the subject of discussion at a national conference of delegates.

RESOLUTION ON HISTORY OF WORKERS' MOVEMENT

LD220050 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2120 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Resolution adopted at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress in Warsaw on 20 July entitled "A Century of the Polish Workers' Movement"]

[Text] It has been nearly 100 years since a group of socialist and worker activists led by Ludwik Warynski formed the first revolutionary Marxist workers' party on Polish territory--the Proletariat International Social-Revolutionary Party. The founding of this party was a manifestation of the social and political identity of the Polish working class and its transformation into a force which was to decide to an increasing degree the destiny of the Polish nation. The development of this party was of great importance in the history of the nation because it laid the basis for the organization of the political movement of the Polish working class, deriving inspiration from scientific Marxist socialism, from trends towards independence and from the struggle for social liberation and for the creation of a system of social justice. During the past 100 years the Polish workers' movement has traveled a long and complex road, introducing a great wealth of experience and contributing to the history of the nation and the ideas and values which will forever remain in the treasure of patriotic, progressive, revolutionary and internationalist traditions.

From the embryonic forms of the first spontaneous, but later organized, class protest of the [word indistinct] both social and national, the socialist movement of workers gradually turned into an important factor deciding the developing of the nation and the state.

It reflected to a gradually fuller degree in its programmatic assumptions and practical activities the objectives and tasks deriving from the historic mission of the working class and from the trends toward independence and socialism. Together with the development of the working class and the implementation of this class awareness as well as its political activeness, there has been occuring a change in the movement, which has gradually embraced ever increasing numbers of workers and progressive intelligentsia, all the areas of [word indistinct] of activities. They increased the influence and improved the ways of expressing the assumptions of the program of the movement and the methods of class struggle.

But the whole historic complexity of the objectives and specific features of the Polish Workers' Movement remains the same as do the basic directions of its initiaitives, which derive from the vital needs of the Polish working class and of the whole nation and from the principles of patriotism and internationalism. The century-long history of the Polish workers' movement covers the struggle against the foreign occupants for national rights and independence, the class struggle against [words indistinct] for rights and social liberation and later the struggle against fascism and Hiterlite rule for freedom and a new Poland, as well as the struggle for the social, economic and spiritual needs of the socialist system and of the country.

In this struggle there participated generations of worker activists and [words indistinct] of socialism who, through their involvement and dedication, shaped [words indistinct]. The history of the past 100 years makes it possible to fully assess and [word indistinct] the great values which the workers' movement has contributed to the history of our nation and state. It is becoming ever more clear that the Polish workers movement has played a key role in the development of the fundamental social and state problems in accordance with the interests of the working class and the nation. In the course of nearly 100 years the class-based socialist workers movement has had a continuous influence upon the development of the national life, holding not only the economic and political life of the nation but also its culture, especially its political culture, the spiritual [words indistinct] and its national character. Ther ideological and organizational activities launched by the political movement of the proletariat has brought about the situation in which the working class has assumed a leading position in the nation as well as laid the foundations for its alliance with the peasants and intelligentsia in the struggle for the fundamental class and national objectives. The working class movement has brought about the awareness of the indivisible character of patriotism, the international solidarity of the working people and socialist internationalism.

The political thought of the leftwing of the workers movement constantly linked the objectives of progress and social justice with the ideals of national liberation. [Words indistinct] has ensured for the country its independence and [words indistinct] the permanent alliance between Peoples' Poland and the Soviet Union and the community of socialist states. Under the leadership of the Polish Workers' Party and the reconstituted Polish Socialist Party, and eventually the PZPR, lasting foundations were laid for the social system and the political system [words indistinct] which opened the road towards the introduction of the principles of social justice and democracy. If there exists today a real change for a gradual overcoming of the profound political, economic and moral crises, as well as a return to the right road [words indistinct] of the country as well as an effective [words indistinct] we owe this, to a considerable extent, to the lasting character and the inviolability of the material and spiritual achievements of Peoples' Poland and the [words indistinct] of the preceding generations of the socialist workers' movement, members, fighters and leaders of the [words indistinct] and the Polish Communist Party who participated in the revolutionary struggle in Europe and the rest of the world [word indistinct]. The PZPR regards itself as the successor of the Polish workers' movement [words indistinct]. None of this legacy can be forgotten [words indistinct]. What was creative and lasting in that legacy has brought the working class its victories and is reflected in [words indistinct] of socialism.

The [words indistinct] of the current period constitutes not only the source of justified pride but also the source of ethical stimuli encouraging us to fight for the ideals and objectives of the workers' movement. What has led to failures and defeats provides a source of useful lessons for the present generation.

The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress appeals to all members of the party and to the young generation of Poles to reflect on the traditions of the workers' movement, on the road it has covered, as well as on its own place and role in the great panorama of generations of fighters for independence and socialism. Let these thoughts encourage activity leading to the implementation of the program of the socialist renewal.

In connection with the approaching 100th anniversary of the Polish workers' movement, the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress makes it incumbent upon the newly-elected Central Committee to appoint a team charged with preparing a scientific Marxist-Leninist synthesis of the century-long history of the Polish workers' movement, with preparing and presenting to the Central Committee for approval theses for the centenary of the Polish workers' movement, which will provide a basis for intraparty and public education and with examining the possibility of instituting a medal or party decoration named after Ludwik Warynski to be awarded to activists and veterans of the workers' movement who have particularly distinguished themselves.

The PZPR is the successor and a faithful continuator of the traditions of the Polish class socialist workers' movement. Faithful to these traditions, let us (?act in unison) in this particular time of trial for all Polish communists. This is the moral and political duty of a member of the PZPR, the supporters of socialism and all Polish patriots.

GRABSKI PLENUM COMMISSION REPORT TO PZPR CONGRESS

AU220722 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Jul 81 p 5

["Report on the Activities of the Commission Appointed by the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum To Evaluate the Present Course of and Accelerate the Work Concerning the Personal Responsibility of PZPR Members in Leading Functions, and To Present the necessary Proposals to the Central Committee in this Regard"--commission chaired by Tadeusz Grabski]

[Text] We publish below the full text of the report on the activity of the commission set up at the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. The report was discussed on the second day of the ninth congress proceedings.

I. The Goal of the Work Performed by the Commission; Its Functions and Composition

The problem of responsibility for creating the sociopolitical and economic crisis experienced by the entire society has become an important factor governing the restoration of confidence in the party and people's rule. As of the Sixth Central Committee Plenum, the PZPR Central Committee began to establish the causes and sources of that crisis, as well as the degree of responsibility borne by persons holding leading positions in the party, government, state and economic administration.

By decision of the sixth plenum, the Central Committee removed former leadership members from the PZPR Central Committee for the reasons that follow:

"Guided by general party opinion with regard to establishing individual responsibility for the causes that resulted in weakening the party's link with the masses and in an acute socioeconomic crisis, the Central Committee resolves to recall from the PZPR Central Committee the following comrades:

"-- Edward Babiuch and Zdzislaw Zandarowski, for permitting distortions in internal party life, for shaping an improper style in party work and for insufficient solicitude for the quality of party ranks;

"-- Jerzy Lukaszewicz, for errors committed in leadership over the party's ideological work and over ideological front institutions, and for drawing up a propaganda line detached from reality;

"-- Jan Szydlak, for errors committed in economic policy and for encouraging voluntarism in that sphere;

"-- Tadeusz Wrzaszczyk, for errors in planning and economic management;

"-- Tadeusz Pyka, for improper style in management and in work among economic cadres, as well as for the wrong attitude in the first phase of the talks with the strike committee in Gdansk.

"The PZPR Central Committee accepts Comrade Zdzislaw Grudzien's resignation, for health reasons, from the functions of Politburo member."

The seventh plenum adopted a decision on the activity of Edward Gierek and Piotr Jaroszewicz, stating in particular:

"1. It is impossible to postpone any longer the examination of Comrade Edward Gierek's responsibility. He was the Central Committee first secretary for more than 9 years. Many correct decisions accepted by the public, as well as political, social and economic moves, were adopted and made in the seventies on his initiative and with his participation. In particular, this applies to the emergence from the December crisis, and to initiating and promoting a number of economic and social programs.

"At the same time, Comrade Edward Gierek bears personal responsibility for arbitrariness in economic and social policy, for ignoring economic rights and disregarding critical opinions. The most important error committed by Comrade Edward Gierek was the formation in the party leadership of a system of relations and methods of activity contradicting party principles. He favored intrigues and the practice of substituting real democracy for a semblance of it. The Central Committee, the Politburo and the Secretariat were absorbed in second rate matters, while issues of fundamental importance were settled without them. Comrade Edward Gierek also bears responsibility for serious errors committed in cadre policy at the central level.

"In connection with what is stated above, the PZPR Central Committee resolves:

"-- To recall Comrade Edward Gierek from the Central Committee.

"2. Also, the issue of Comrade Piotr Jaroszewicz requires examination. While exerting decisive influence on socioeconomic policy pursued during the entire decade, he played a key role in particular in advocating an investment policy exceeding the country's possibilities and internally inconsistent, and in increasing the country's debts. Comrade Piotr Jaroszewicz bears serious responsibility for forcing the June 1976 plan for changing prices and, what is more important, for resisting every attempt to make serious changes in socioeconomic policy.

"The peremptory and autocratic leadership style used by Comrade Piotr Jaroszewicz results in hasty economic and cadre decisions, in ignoring party opinion and in disregarding the voices of criticism.

"In that connection, the Central Committee resolves:

"--To obligate the Central Party Control Commission to examine the issue of Comrade Piotr Jaroszewicz and to adopt a decision with regard to his party membership, to check closely into his responsibility and into the substance of accusations of his abusing his position, and give the party and the general public an account of the results of the check."

Moreover, the Sixth Central Committee Plenum requested the Supreme Chamber of Control and fiscal organs, in line with the binding law, to examine all doubtful private construction investments made in the last decade, including summer houses and houses that do not belong to farm holdings, to see what money was used to pay for them.

The Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum advised the former leadership members, Comrades Edward Gierek, Piotr Jaroszewicz, Edward Babiuch, Jerzy Lukaszewicz, Tadeusz Pyka, Jan Szydlak, Tadeusz Wrzaszczyk and Zdzislaw Zandarowski, to submit their deputy mandates, and that has been complied with.

Party control commissions at all levels have intensified their investigations into matters raised by the public with regard to party members charged with breaking statutory norms, with activities to the detriment of the party and society, and with abusing their positions for personal advantage.

At the same time prosecuting and investigating organs have continued their clearing proceedings. Having gathered proof of the offenses committed, acts of indictment were sent to courts in individual cases.

However, the scope of the work, its pace and the lack of complete information made the public, including party members, mainly from the workers' milieu, call for a speeding up of the control and investigating action, particularly with regard to persons belonging to the former leadership responsible for the crisis. Also the PZPR Central Committee was increasingly aware that the process of settling accounts should be completed before the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress in order to concentrate the party's attention on economic, social and political issues.

For that reason, on 29 April 1981 the 10th Central Committee Plenum formed a Central Committee commission to assess the course to date and to accelerate the work concerning responsibility, and ruled that its work should be completed before 30 June 1981.

Those forming the commission were:

1. Tadeusz Grabski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Secretary, chairman;

2. Jerzy Putrament, PZPR Central Committee member and LITERATURA chief editor;

3. Adam Baldys, PZPR Central Committee members, miner in the Sosnowiec Czerwone Zaglebie mine and blast expert;

4. Jozef Baryla, PZPR Central Committee members, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Main Political Administration in the Polish Army;

5. Ignacy Drabik, PZPR Central Committee member and senior foreman at the Predom-Mesko metallurgical plant in Skarzysko-Kamienna, Kielce Voivodship;

6. Tadeusz Kosciowski, PZPR Central Committee member and farmer at Bielany village, Piale Podlaska Voivodship;

7. Stanislaw Krolik, PZPR Central Committee member and chairman of the Nowy Swiat agricultural production cooperative society in Kalisz Voivodship;

8. Stanislaw Opalko, PZPR Central Committee member and Tarnow Voivodship committee first secretary;

9. Zofia Grzyb, PZPR Central Committee member and brigade leader at the Radoskor tannery in Radom;

10. Zygmunt Wronski, Politburo member and mold operator at the Ursus engineering plant in Warsaw;

11. Eugeniusz Stawinski, Central Auditing Commission Presidium member and public figure in Warsaw;

12. Tadeusz Fiszbach, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Gdansk Voivodship committee first secretary;

13. Henryk Szafranski, PZPR Central Committee member and state council member;

14. Andrzej Wasilewski, PZPR Central Committee member and director of the State Publishing Institute in Warsaw; and

15. Edward Pustelnik, PZPR Central Committee member and worker at the Gryfia repair shipyard in Szczecin.

To streamline its activity, at the first session the commission entrusted Zygmunt Wronski and Tadeusz Fiszbach with the functions of deputy chairmen.

II. The Scope and the Methods of the Commission's Work

In line with the decisions of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, the commission's activity covered the period between the 1970 Seventh Central Committee Plenum and the 1980 Sixth Central Committee Plenum, as well as persons performing leading functions in the party and state during that period. In addition, the commission familiarized itself with the results of the current activities of party control commissions at all levels, with the investigations carried out by the Supreme Chamber of Control, and the proceedings conducted by the prosecutor's office.

In its activity, the commission used the following materials:

--The Programmatic Assumptions for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and the report on the state of the economy--its part concerning the causes and effects of the crisis in the economy;

--Analyses and conclusions by the Central Party Control Commission, the Supreme Chamber of Control and the general prosecutor's office;

--Information containing expert opinions and papers presented by the team of scientific advisers to the former PZPR Central Committee first secretary in 1977-80;

--Resolutions and decisions adopted by party organizations and echelons and the 120 individual letters received by the commission, including 40 anonymous ones;

--Written statements made by members of the former and the present leadership, who were in office in the period concerned;

--Individual conversations held to establish the degree of responsibility of the former party and government leadership, explanations concerning the mechanism of the functioning of the Politburo and the government, as well as concerning controversial problems or issues causing doubts.

The commission held such conversations with Edward Gierek, Piotr Jaroszewicz, Edward Babiuch, Stanislaw Kowalczyk, Jerzy Lukaszewicz, Tadeusz Pyka, Jan Szydlak, Tadeusz Wrzaszczyk and, at the request of those concerned, with Franciszek Szlachcic, as well as with Mieczyslaw Jagielski, and Jozef Pinkowski--to obtain additional explanations;

--Legal expert findings by a team of experts invited by the commission in the following composition: Prof. Dr. Kazimierz Buchala from the Jagiellonian University in Lublin, Assistant Professor Dr. Leszek Kubicki from the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, and Assistant Professor Dr. Tadeusz Nowak from the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan.

Participating in the commission's sessions were representatives of the Central Party Control Commission, the Supreme Chamber of Control and the prosecutor's office.

The commission held eight plenary sessions, meeting once a week. In addition, it also worked in teams. It familiarized itself with information and documents and had talks, making shorthand notes on each of them.

Having listened to periodic reports by the Central Party Control Commission, the Supreme Chamber of Control and the prosecutor's office on the progress in the work, the commission found it necessary to complete the action with regard to all persons against whom accusations were raised before 30 June. The Central Party Control Commission and local commissions proved to be able to do that, but the activities of prosecuting organs, particularly of the prosecutor's office, had to continue after the deadline set because of legal requirements (court proceedings).

On 29 June the commission familiarized itself with the final report by the Supreme Chamber of Control, current information from the general prosecutor's office, and with the report prepared by the Central Party Control Commission for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

III. The Causes of the Crisis in the Light of the Documents Gathered and of the Results of the Talks

All persons have stated before the commission--by written statement or orally--that the assessments set forth in the Programmatic Assumptions for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress with regard to the sources and causes of the crisis that has occurred in Poland were formulated correctly and in line with the truth. In the conversations held, the personnel decisions adopted by the Sixth and Seventh Central Committee Plenums were not disputed. The commission has obtained additional information and explanations.

In the light of the foregoing facts, the picture of the causes and mechanisms that brought about the crisis has been clarified. The commission has formulated those causes and mechanisms in the following way:

1. The Defects in the Decisionmaking System

One of the fundamental causes of adopting voluntarist decisions and of the lack of responsibility for formulating and implementing them lay in the fact that, notwithstanding the correct--more theoretical than practical--thesis that the party leads and the government rules, neither the authorities of the Politburo and the government, nor the mutual dependence between them and the scope of their responsibility were defined by any practical rules. That clouded the picture of relations between the Politburo and the government, and particularly made it difficult to define responsibility for decisions adopted and implemented at the highest level.

Within the Politburo, the powers of its members, formulated in general terms, were not observed. Moreover, groups inspiring and taking the most important decisions emerged informally in the Politburo. Particularly important was the fact that some Politboro members (Franciszek Szlachcic before 1973 and Edward Babiuch after) performed a dominating role in it, restricting the positions of the other members and exerting a fundamental influence on the position of the former first secretary.

As a result of this phenomena and of the desire of some Politburo members to consolidate their own positions, the former Central Committee first secretary, Edward Gierek, while yielding to various groups or persons, tolerated their activities, uncritically accepted flattery and with growing frequency posed as a symbol of wisdom and infallibility. He also publicly proclaimed the most important slogans and programs, such as on the construction of a second Poland and the Vistula program. The process of shaping a kind of personality cult began around his person. That process was favored by the fact that the powers and role of the Central Committee first secretary were not defined in a statutory way. That resulted in shaping informal arrangements and uncritical relations in a part of the power apparatus.

The domination exercised by representatives of the government in the Politburo was highly amiss and fraught with consequences. To a large extent, that was decisive for formulating many decisions, particularly economic ones. In the government's political decisions there were few matters of fundamental significance for the country (for example, the state of debts and solvency of the state, or necessary socioeconomic reforms,) and the attention of the Politburo was absorbed in too many and too detailed issues. Thus responsibility for the decisions adopted was diminishing.

The role of the premier in the Politburo was given too much prominence. In this way the real significance of the Politburo and its members not belonging to the government declined.

The intricacy of the decision-making and responsibility system was also brought about by the lack of constitutional status involving the rights, obligations and responsibilities of the premier, deputy chairmen, ministers and the government Presidium. Also, the role of the Sejm in relation to some important decisions of strategic importance, such as the country's debts or large investments, was reduced to a minimum or seriously restricted.

2. Lack of Resolution in the Politburo's and Government's Activity and Lack of Control Over Actual Decisions

The activity of the Politburo and the government in the seventies, especially during the second half of that decade, was marked by a surfeit of resolutions, decisions and programs worked out and adopted without previously considering the ability of the country's economic potential to implement them.

The essential error of the Politburo's work was the lack of effective political control over the government's activity with regard to the adopted decisions and resolutions. As a result, the state and party apparatus became increasingly formal in its approach to implementing the adopted decisions. Such a functioning of the central party and state authorities had a most negative impact on the attitude of many activists. The principles of cadre policy ceased to evaluate people for the real results of their work and performance.

The discrepancy continued to increase between the country's deteriorating situation and its image purposefully presented by the so-called propaganda of successes. The central party and state authorities ceased to respond to criticism and showed aversion to the incoming reports on economic difficulties. Not even the critical premises included in the opinions of the first secretary's team of advisors were taken into consideration. Most of the papers which were produced by that team and which the commission was able to examine contained hints of the catastrophe that was threatening Poland.

Such a state of affairs could be maintained because, inter alia:

--The ideological-political life within the party was stage-managed and was increasingly organized with the help of the letters and appeals signed by the Central Committee and often formulated by the Politburo, the Secretariat or even the Central Committee Organization Department, a practice that eliminated personal ties between the party's central body and party members;

--The action plans and the subjects of meetings, sessions and plenums were imposed on party organizations from above, which led to internal party life becoming formalized, to curbing the initiative and independence of party echelons and to making party meetings unnatural;

--The role of the workers self-government conferences in production enterprises and of other forms of self-government was decisively curbed, which helped smother the social and job militancy of work forces;

--The constitutional principle of social consultation was formalized and eventually abandoned.

No real conclusions were drawn from such manifestations, which were correctly and critically evaluated by the Eighth Central Committee Plenum in February 1971, for the benefit of the functioning of the party, especially its leadership.

3. Lack of the Politburo's Analysis of the Main Strategic Activities and Their Results

The Politburo failed to make analyses of strategic significance and did not present the matters of crucial importance for the country to the Central Committee for decision.

That was so, inter alia, with the incorrect evaluation of the symptoms of the 1973-74 world crisis, whose manifestations were taken lightly and appraised as temporary. Among others, that was conceded by Piotr Jaroszewicz, Jan Szydlak, Mieczyslaw Jagielski and Tadeusz Pyka. The thoughtlessness in approaching those crisis manifestations resulted in far-reaching political and economic consequences.

The lack of response to the country's increasing indebtedness, especially in the second half of the seventies, worsened the state's ability to pay and upset the economic balance. Such carelessness was responsible for the fact that funds were not regrouped in time and that action was not taken to prevent an uncontrolled increase in debts, imports and, especially, the haphazardly expanding investment program.

"The economic maneuver," which was initiated too late--not until 1976-77--was implemented inconsistently. Additional investment needs connected with the construction of the infrastructure of the many new voivodships were contributory factors.

4. The Politburo and the Government Failed To Appreciate the Increasing Social, Ideological and Political Contradictions

The former party and government leadership's failure to take note of the accumulating social contradictions was one of the reasons for the crisis in the seventies. The refusal to evaluate the reasons for and results of the June events in 1976 was the most glaring example of that failure. The party leadership made an incorrect interpretation of the nature of those events; it evaluated them as a protest with only an economic basis and completely failed to see their sociopolitical aspects.

It should be stated that neither the Politburo nor the Central Committee evaluated those events. The leading activists (explanations by Edward Gierek, Piotr Jaroszewicz, Edward Babiuch and Jan Szydlak) did not think at that time that such an evaluation was necessary, although they have now admitted that they made a serious error in this connection. Such an approach, which was dissociated from the realities of life, was also caused by the false thesis about the people's moral-political unity. This thesis entailed disrespect for and failure to appreciate the role of the forces hostile to socialism. Social failures and even conflicts (for example, the rejection of the June price hike by society) were evaluated as results of the weakness of the performance of the local party bodies and not as results of faulty central decisions.

The propaganda of success, which is closely linked to the activities of Edward Gierek, Jan Szydlak and Jerzy Lukaszewicz, also played an infamous role in that regard. This propaganda was a method of concealing both social contradictions and increasing difficulties and errors. Also, the failure to show the full achievements of People's Poland and the practice of limiting them mainly to the seventies, as well as of downplaying or passing over in silence the earlier achievements of the Polish People's Republic, were negative aspects of that propaganda.

In order to conceal the true socioeconomic failures in 1976-80 and the failure to implement the seventh congress program, the former leadership resorted to evaluating the entire decade. In this way the true state of the party and country was concealed and the eighth congress was prevented from adopting correct evaluations and resolutions.

5. The Attitudes of the Former Leadership's Members

The incorrect relations prevailing in the Politburo and in the government leadership were, regardless of other reasons, a result of the domination of opportunist attitudes. A decisive majority of the comrades were motivated by a falsely conceived loyalty to the former Central Committee first secretary and to the former premier. Many of them--they themselves admit it--were faced by a choice: to remain in the leadership of the party or government, consciously minimizing [pomniejszac] the negative effects of various voluntaristic decisions, or to oppose them openly.

This was true with the increases in prices in June 1976 when many comrades--according to their own testimony--expressed their opposition to the proposed increases during consultations with the premier, but when the issue was tackled by the Politburo, no opposition was voiced (there are no minutes of the Politburo session in question to confirm this fact).

Such relations prevailing within the former leadership produced the disappearance of a sense of party and personal responsibility among its members, and were responsible for the fact that the Politburo and the first secretary were treated as bodies exempt from the Central Committee's control and even as bodies dominating the Central Committee.

The moral principles of some party and state activities were weakened and a typical climate of tolerance toward the practice of exploiting one's post for unjustified material advantages for oneself and one's family was created. The necessary conclusions were not drawn from the critical observations made in this connection.

The former leadership did not sufficiently react to party and social criticism aired before the eighth party congress and at the congress itself, which constituted an opportunity for the party to change its policy and to improve the conditions of society. Thousands and thousands of fair proposals and postulates were ignored or forgotten, a fact which the masses of party members regard with justified regret and anger.

IV. The Commission's Proposals Concerning the Responsibility of Persons in Leading Party and State Posts

In keeping with the 10th Central Committee Plenum resolution, the commission presents detailed proposals to the Central Committee. Motivated by the best conceived principles of social justice and party integrity, by the views of the team of legal experts and by objectivity in determining the responsibility of each person, the commission proposes that the Central Committee accept the following:

--Political responsibility is borne for political activities;

--Penal responsibility is borne for common crimes, regardless of the position occupied;

--Once the crime has been proven, the provisions of the criminal law should be applied in the case of decisions--made by the functionaries at the leading state posts--that are particularly harmful in their effects.

1. In the case of Comrade Edward Gierek, former PZPR first secretary, political sanctions have already been applied. He has been recalled from the Central Committee and obligated to resign his function as a Sejm deputy and as a member of the State Council.

In addition, the commission proposes:

A) To address the case of Comrade Edward Gierek to the Central Party Control Commission so that his continued membership in the PZPR may be examined;

B) To apply to the general prosecutor so that, in keeping with the requirements of the law, he:
--sees to it that the real estate used by the couple Stanislawa and Edward Gierek in Katowice be returned to the ownership of the state treasury. The particular point is to cancel the following decisions that are in conflict with the law: the administrative decision of 12 April 1976 on the perpetual use by the couple Stanislawa and Edward Gierek of a building plot situated in the aforementioned place, and the notary's act of 10 May 1976 on the strength of which the couple Stanislawa and Edward Gierek purchased a house that had been built on the aforementioned plot with state funds;
--completes proceedings to clarify the failure to account for the costs of the construction of a house in Ustron Slaski, which is the property of the Gierek family.

2. In the case of Edward Babiuch, Jerzy Lukaszewicz, Tadeusz Pyka, Jan Szydlak and Zdzislaw Zandarowski, who have already been relieved of their functions as PZPR Central Committee members and given up their Sejm mandates, the commission proposes that the Central Committee agree that the cases of these comrades be handed over to the Central Party Control Commission so that their continued PZPR membership may be examined.

3. Former Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz has so far suffered political consequences in the form of removal from the PZPR ranks by a decision of the Central Party Control Commission.

Following the opinion of a team of legal experts, the commission also proposes that the prosecutor's office initiate proceedings to clarify and decide whether the former premier committed a crime as defined by Article 246 of the Penal Code, by overstepping his powers or by failing to do his duty.

In particular, it is necessary to decide whether:

A) He abused his powers by:

--Making arbitrary, one-person decisions in cases in which the law called for collegial decisions;

--overstepping the limits of the Sejm-approved plans for the country's socioeconomic development and of state budget laws;

--making consciously untrue reports and evaluations;

--granting unjustified privileges to members of his family or to other persons;

--issuing instructions to stop control checks on or to hinder criminal proceedings;

B) He failed to do his duty by:

--failing to organize work in the units placed under him in such a way as to ensure that correct decisions could be made;

--tolerating harmful activities by the organizational units or functionaries placed under him;

--failing to respond to the signals from the apparatus responsible for the control of the state about bad management, abuses, erroneous decisions and organizational errors;

--failing to react to proven incompetence of the leading cadres;

--making decisions of crucial socioeconomic importance without properly investigating the relevant domestic and foreign contingencies, or making them by violating the rules of the processes of decisionmaking;

--passing over in silence or concealing information on hand of great significance for ensuring the correct course of decisionmaking processes in other administrative units, in bodies of power and in political bodies.

The commission takes the view that in the course of clarifying proceedings, it is also necessary to examine the possible responsibility of other members of the government leadership.

4. The commission proposes that--as a proposing body--the Politburo should apply to t State Council to annul the decisions made in 1971-80 concerning the award of state decorations to persons bearing particular moral and political responsibility for the existing crisis: Edward Gierek, Piotr Jaroszewicz, Edward Babiuch, Zdzislaw Grudzien, Jerzy Lukaszewicz, Tadeusz Pyka, Jan Szydlak, Tadeusz Wrzaszczyk and Zdzislaw Zandarowski, as well as former ministers Adam Glazur, Franciszek Kaim and Wlodzimierz Lejczak.

V. Proposals Concerning the Establishment of Institutional Guarantees in the PZPR Statute and in the Regulations on the Functioning of the State

As a result of an analysis of the mechanisms of the functioning of the party and state which--aside from other reasons--are the root cause of the crisis, the commission is fully in favor of the proposals contained in the Programmatic Assumptions for the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress and in the draft changes for the PZPR statute, proposals seeking to create guarantees for preventing a possible repetition of similar distortions.

The commission takes the view that of special significance in party activities is:

1. Defining the role and responsibility of the Central Committee first secretary, the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat, as well as the principle of the subordination of these bodies to the Central Committee. Another point is the obligation to refer the Politburo's most important strategic issues, intentions and decisions to the Central Committee for deliberations, and to enable the Central Committee to appraise the sociopolitical situation, especially in moments of threats involving conflicts;

2. Defining the Politburo members' duty to profess their political position vis-a-vis the most crucial issues concerning all the people and the entire party, and giving them, at the same time, the right to appeal, if necessary, to the opinion of the Central Committee plenum;

3. Introducing and unconditionally observing the principle of controlling the adopted resolutions and of presenting their results at the session of the elected bodies; controlling the work of the party apparatus is equally necessary;

4. Presenting to the Central Committee periodic, consistent reports drawn up by the Politburo on its activities; the minutes on Politburo sessions should contain premises of adopted decisions as well as the opinions and positions expressed by Politburo members on every issue;

5. Restoring genuine consultations as a method of agreeing on the most important decisions;

6. Defining, by the ninth congress, the leading role of the PZPR in the country's socioeconomic life, especially of the PZPR's strategic-conceptual, inspirational and control functions.

The commission takes the view that the following issues are of crucial importance for the functioning of the government:

1. Defining by law the role and competence of the government; including those of the premier, deputy chairmen and ministers;

2. Introducing the principle that the Sejm expresses each year its confidence in the government on the basis of evaluating the implementation of the government's tasks, taking into account the views and observations of the Supreme Chamber of Control;

3. Expanding and detailing the principle of the responsibility of the government and ministers.

The responsibility of the members of the government before the Sejm involves the duty to deliver reports to it and to resign at its behest, after a vote of no confidence has been passed. In its present form, the constitution of the Polish People's Republic mentions only the responsibility of the Council of Ministers as a whole, omitting the issue of individual responsibility of the members of the government.

The commission proposes that the Central Committee or the ninth extraordinary congress ask the Sejm to introduce into the constitution--in the wake of other socialist countries--a vote of no confidence in the individual members of the government. Such a power for the Sejm will greatly strengthen its authority and will ensure that the government, which is in charge of the entire state administration, is placed under the Sejm.

Signatures of the commission's members.

Warsaw, 29 June 1981.

MEMBERS OF CONTROL, AUDITING COMMISSIONS PUBLISHED

PZPR Control Commission

AU211132 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18-19 Jul 81 p 2

["Members of the Central Party Control Commission"]

[Text] Ryszard Adamczyk, Jozef Antoniak, Czeslaw Bajko, Marian Baluka, Feliks Baranowski, Kazimierz Basinski, Henryk Bakowski, Wladyslaw Beben, Tadeusz Chodkowski, Wladyslaw Ciaston, Ryszard Czechowicz, Stefan Derengowski, Waclaw Dobrzanski, Augystyn Drozdz, Jozef Drozdziel, Leszek Dutkiewicz, Wladyslaw Gemza, Edwin Gojszewski, Alojzy Gorzawski, Stanislaw Grabania, Marian Jagiello, Wladyslaw Jaron, Zdzislaw Jurczyk, Jozef Kabacinski, Andrezej Karwalski, Stefan Kepiak, Zenon Klemenczak, Jan Klopotowski, Maria Koch, Henryk Kondas, Franciszek Korczewski, Ryszard Kordasiewicz, Jan Korybski, Krystyna Kostro, Alfred Kostrzewa, Grazyna Kotnowska, Mieczyslawa Lec, Lucjan Legodzinski, Stefan Lewandowski, Tadeusz Lipiec, Tadeusz Lipowski, Halina Lawniczak, Longin Lozowicki, Aleksander Luckos, Jerzy Majewski, Miron Malyjasiak, Kazimierz Maszerowski, Jan Matuszewski, Aleksander Michalak, Mieczyslaw Michalik, Wladyslaw Michalus, Tadeusz Mikolajczyk, Ryszard Milczarek, Edmund Modrzyk, Stanislaw Morawski, Bogdan Nalezyty, Tadeusz Nowicki, Ryszard Olejniczak, Zygmunt Olejniczak, Elzbieta Pawlowicz, Wojciech Pawloski, Henryk Piekarczyk, Tadeusz Przychodzien, Franciszek Reichmann, Stanislawa Roczniak, Leszek Siedlewski, Bronislaw Sitko, Ryszard Stanislawek, Krzysztof Sopala, Jan Szczepaniak, Kazimierz Szmajdzinski, Norbert Sznajder, Jerzy Szymanik, Aleksander Swierczynski, Andrzej Tochowicz, Stanislaw Tomaszkiewicz, Julian Turko, Jerzy Urbanski, Czeslaw Waniek, Mieczyslaw Wielgusiak, Wlodzimierz Wieclawek, Jan Wisniewski, Stanislaw Woloszyn, Marian Wojcik, Henryk Wykurz, Stanislaw Wziatek, Zenon Zapala, Jan Zielinski, Zygmunt Zielinski, Jan Zbikowski.

PZPR Auditing Commission

AU211123 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18-19 Jul 81 p 2

["Members of the Central Auditing Commission"]

[Text] Tomasz Afeltowicz, Adam Balabuch, Wojciech Baranski, Stanislaw Blezien, Ignacy Borkiewicz, Stanislawa Brewinska, Zenon Bryk, Daniela Buczkowska, Adam Butynski, Jan Ciesielski, Krystyna Chrobak, Edward Chwesiuk, Sylwester Czaplicki, Wanda Dabrowska, Henryk Dobrowolski, Eugeniusz Dobrzynski, Jan Dubielak, Helena Dziewolska, Tadeusz Ferc, Antoni Galecki, Jan Gawel, Zbigniew Gruntmeyer, Leonard Grymel, Roman Halaczkiewicz, Wladyslaw Honkisz, Dominik Horodynski, Mieczyslaw Ignielewicz, Wanda Janczo, Mariusz Jedrzejko, Waldemar Kaczor, Jan Kaczuba, Jerzy Kaczybura, Anatol Karpinski, Aleksander Kasprzak, Jerzy Kestowicz, Krzysztof Kondracki, Genowefa Krajewska, Gerard Kranjniewski, Tadeusz Krepski, Zbigniew Krezalowski, Wieslaw Krupski, Barbara Kubacka, Zdzislaw Kurek, Stanislaw Lachowicz, Kazimierz Laszczynski, Edward Lyczko, Marian Maciaszek, Stanislaw Majchrzak, Ignacy Marianski, Stanislaw Miedziak, Kazimierz Morawski, Teodor Muszalski, Grzegorz Opara, Jerzy Perkowski, Jan Rzeminski, Bozena Sikora, Cecylia Sikorska, Jan Skarbowski, Stanislaw Skinderowicz, Waclaw Skoczylas, Witold Sroczynski, Maria Studnicka, Eugeniusz Stepien, Zdzislaw Stepien, Marian Stoklosa, Stanislaw Suszek, Zbigniew Smigielski, Urszula Tomaszewska, Jacek Trojanek, and Bronislaw Wilk.

TEXT OF PZPR CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION REPORT

PM201517 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 14 Jul 81 p 2

[Apparent text of PZPR "Central Auditing Commission Report for the Period Between the Eighth Congress and the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress"]

[Text] During the 16 months which have elapsed since the eighth congress the Central Auditing Commission [CKR] has carried out 51 checks concerning specific problems with respect to Central Committee section and departments, intervoivodship party schools, voivodship, commune, urban-and-commune, urban, regional and enterprise committees, basic party organizations and some branches of the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch Workers' Cooperative Publishing House.

Intraparty management in Polish Armed Forces' party organizations and components has also been investigated.

With respect to intraparty activities, the CKR carried out checks in party organizations and components, concentrating its attention on the way in which records of party members and candidate members and party documentation and statistics were kept. It maintained a check on the way in which party members and candidate members were fulfilling their fundamental statutory obligations, especially the payment of party contributions. It also probed the procedure for admissions to the PZPR's ranks.

During the period covered by the report the CKR and the regional auditing commissions devoted much time to matters relating to the numerical strength and quality of party ranks. The investigation made it possible to ascertain that, as a result of central directives concerning mass acceptance of candidates, statutory requirements were considerably lowered. Neither party meetings nor party training necessarily led to the activation and formation of the attitudes of party members. In many organizations party meetings took place irregularly. The attendance of members was rather poor and the level of their activity rather low. As a result of the way in which the party was being built up, priority being given to quantitative criteria, the quality and discipline of the party rank and file and the effectiveness of basic organizations activities suffered. In the 1 July 1980-31 May 1981 period 300,100 PZPR members were either removed from the party register or expelled, including some 190,800 people who handed in their party cards, that is 0.5 percent of party members. Unfortunately the proportion of workers among party members declined from 46.4 percent to 44.7 percent.

Moreover the problem of an appropriate role and method of work for basic party organizations is now becoming and should in the future be one of the fundamental factors which will determine the success and effectiveness of any policy implemented by the party.

Observance of and compliance with high qualitative criteria with respect to people joining the PZPR's ranks, consolidation of the party's working class nature, strengthening of the party's sense of responsibility and discipline and raising of the status and role of basic party organizations in intraparty life should be included among the important tasks facing all party components and organizations. The CKR believes that the proposals put forward with a view to amending the statute with this end in mind are correct.

In the period under review the CKR took on the monitoring of the state of care for workers' movement veterans and their families. Some 12,500 activists--veterans and members of the families of deceased activists--received pensions for distinguished service in the workers' movement. At the end of 1980 average monthly pensions amounted to Z3,461--Z4,217 for activists and Z2,878 for members of their families. Within the framework of social care and living conditions, individual financial grants have been of considerable importance as far as material aid is concerned. In 1980, 574 people were helped in this way, receiving a total of Z1.2 million. It is necessary to increase material aid and social care for workers' movement activists and their families because many of them still live in difficult material conditions.

The CKR checked on the procedure for replying to letters, complaints and proposals from the public sent to party components and organizations and on how speedily replies were given. In recent years political organizations in general and the CKR in particular have been receiving an increasing number of letters, complaints and proposals from the public and it was noted that an increasing number of people have been submitting complaints orally. In the opinion of the CKR, the number and nature of matters submitted to party organizations in general and the CKR in particular should be seen as evidence of the growing amount of the public's unsatisfied demands as well as of the ossification and ineffectiveness of the present structures of socioeconomic life.

During investigations of matters submitted more attention was often paid to procedure than to genuine aid to the citizens. More attention was paid to day-to-day procedure with respect to service provided for the public in offices of administration and to listening to complaints by the management personally than to taking appropriate steps to ensure that both state and economic administration dealt with every case on its merits.

The direct involvement of organizations in dealing with day-to-day problems and difficulties was intended to increase the party's authority and confidence in the party, but in practice this objective was achieved only seldom because of formalistic reaction to signals from the public.

Letters, complaints and signals from the citizens are among the more important forms of strengthening the party's ties with the community. It is therefore indispensable to introduce into the activities of party components and organizations the principle that problems resulting from letters and complaints should become one of the main premises for the assessment of both the correctness of legal solutions and the correct functioning of certain bodies, institutions and persons responsible for dealing with particular cases on their merits and for the bases on which they are dealt with.

The procedure for considering proposals sent to party organizations by party members and put forward at meetings of basic party organizations as well as the timescale for the adoption of appropriate measures were also subjected to scrutiny.

In this sphere insufficient attention was paid to the assessment of the essential content of the proposals and demands submitted and to analyzing the causes which had prompted them. On the national scale, during discussions connected with the eighth congress, hundreds of thousands of proposals, opinions and demands were put forward.

They were to a considerable degree pointers toward the phenomena which lay at the basis of the July-August worker's protest. However, they did not meet with the requisite response on the part of the former leadership and were reflected in neither the materials and draft decisions submitted to the congress nor in the congress proceedings.

In the financial and economic sphere the CKR monitored the rationality of the way in which party assets were managed and the reasons for budget expenditure. In 1980 a total of Z2,709,209 was spent on party activities, of which nearly 80 percent was spent by regional organizations. The remainder of that sum was earmarked for activities under the central authorities' control, including activities carried out by the Central Committee, the Higher School of Social Sciences, the Institute of the Fundamental Problems of Marxism-Leninism and the Central Institute for Party Courses.

Checks showed that both the number and the wages of political workers remained within the limits of the number of staff and the wages fund determined by the Central Committee Secretariat. In 1980 the party apparatus employed on an annual average 17,166 workers, including 11,003 political workers and 6,163 administrative and technical workers.

Preliminary comparative analyses have not confirmed the opinion that the party apparatus has been excessively expanded. In 1980 the average monthly wage within the party apparatus amounted to Z6,884--the wages of political workers amounting to Z8,124 and of administrative and technical workers to Z4,670. The wages of political workers in the Central Committee were as follows: inspectors earned up to Z10,000 and the first secretary of the Central Committee earned Z28,100. Wages of elected political workers in regional organizations ranged from Z15,400 to Z19,800 for first secretaries and secretaries of urban, district, rural, rural-urban and enterprise committees, they ranged fron Z5,700 to Z11,300.

It should also be mentioned that workers within the party apparatus receive family allowances and are paid expenses without preferential treatment whatever and in accordance with the principles generally in force in socialized enterprises.

The expenditure on party activities in 1980 mentioned above was financed out of the party's own income, that is, party membership fees amounting to Z1,999,253 and publishing activities.

In 1981, fulfilling demands frequently put forward by the community, the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat recommended that a survey of party premises be carried out. As a result, 16 buildings and 306 other premises until recently utilized by party organizations have been vacated and earmarked for social purposes. In addition it has been decided to assign nine buildings under construction for party use to some other use.

Assessing the utilization of party funds and assets, the CKR points out that the party's financial management has been carried out correctly, thriftily and in accordance with extablished requirements in both form and content.

Reporting on the results of the audit carried out between the eighth and the ninth congresses, the CKR states that party activities with respect to matters subject to monitoring by the Auditing Commission were carried out in accordance with principles laid down in the resolutions and directives concerning intraparty management as adopted by the Central Committee Executive.

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The big wave of criticisms both within the party and among the community which resulted from some serious mistakes made by the party and state leadership has to some extent, been aimed at party control organs.

In past years the social role of party monitoring over the activities of the party's executive bodies and apparatus was underestimated even within the framework defined by the PZPR statutes. Hence the insufficient interest shown in the results of auditing commissions' work on the part of the Central Committee executive and the executives of regional party organizations.

The new lease on life acquired by the party following the Sixth Central Committee Plenum was reflected in a great number of suggestions and proposals concerning the role and status of control bodies within the party and their functioning. They have partly been utilized in the PZPR draft statute. However, no uniform views have been achieved on the subject of model solutions to be applied to party control bodies. At recently held report and election conferences at various levels not only control and auditing commissions but also separate auditing commissions and the draft statute to leave it to the congress to finally resolve this problem.

CORRECTION TO POLITBURO ELECTION RESULTS 19 JULY

The following is a correction to the item entitled "Central Committee Holds Plenary Session 19 July" and subtitled "Politburo Election Results" published in the 20 July Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT on page G 41. On page G 41, sixth paragraph, line five, make read "Jozef Mitak--45, Stefan Olszowski--187," (correcting spelling of "Mitak" and number "187")

FURTHER ON PZPR CONGRESS DELEGATE SPEECHES

Bednarski Blames Solidarity

AU201455 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Jul 81 p 9

[Report on speech by Henryk Bednarski, Bydgoszcz Voivodship PZPR Committee first secretary, at the 14 July session of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress]

[Text] I can see the point of those comrades who in the precongress discussion and here at the congress raised the issue of assessing the past, and particularly the period of the seventies, and who pointed out the big errors committed by the party and state leadership. I agree that the congress must not turn a blind eye on the past decade. On the contrary, a deep analysis of everything, good or bad, that occurred in the party at that time, is one of important duties facing the congress. A substantial contribution toward completing the process of account squaring, in accordance, I think, with the expectations of party members and society, has been made by Comrade Grabski's commission and the 12th Central Committee Plenum.

I consider that the completion of the process of account settling is one of the elementary conditions for restoring the party's proper position stemming from the principles of the socialist system.

However, while agreeing with all that, I cannot--and this I also state on behalf of the entire Bydgoszcz delegation--endorse the fascination with the issue of the past. We must have a much closer look at the causes and mechanisms that have brought the party and the country to such an acute crisis. At the same time I consider that in Poland there are forces that quite knowingly impose that convention of the past on the party and would like to impose it on the congress. Those are the forces who would like to reduce the history of the party to the endless sequence of errors and distortions and who dream about a party constantly giving accounts of its real and imaginary faults, about a party on its knees.

In the precongress period, the present party leadership was frequently subject to sharp criticism. It was accused of activities frequently belated in relation to the developments, and of irresoluteness in the struggle against those forces who strive to weaken the party and dismantle the structures of our socialist state.

Although that criticism was, to some extent, substantiated, it is to be objectively stated that the party leadership has been working under extremely difficult conditions, in an atmosphere of constant tension and conflict. Nonetheless, the achievements of the present leadership are significant. It is to be credited with drawing up the line of socialist renewal and with the very resolute and at times even bitter defense of that line aimed at settling conflicts by political means and by means of social agreements.

Our Bydgoszcz party organization, numbering 100,000 members, works in extremely complicated sociopolitical conditions.

One of the factors shaping our party work is the nature of the regional leadership of Solidarity. I would like to emphasize distinctly that in the leadership of the voivodship committee and in the entire voivodship party organization there is complete understanding for the great social role performed by the new trade unions and the sincere will to cooperate with them in many fields, as with the industrial Branch and Autonomous Trade Unions. We have repeatedly given evidence of that in practice. However, the effects of those efforts are only evident at some enterprises where relations among party organizations, Branch and Solidarity trade unions have been shaping successfully. On the other hand, political extremism and irreconcilability in the leading group of the regional Solidarity board in Bydgoszcz have made that cooperation extremely difficult. What I have in mind are not legal issues--and the so-called Bydgoszcz events, mostly in an exaggerated and one-sided version, are particularly well known all over the country--but, among other things, the most recent pronouncements and acts, especially by the board chairman of the Bydgoszcz regional Solidarity. A few days ago, at the general meeting of delegates from the entire region, he bluntly advocated the conception of Solidarity as a social movement with a clearly oppositional and antisocialist character. He also demanded that that trade union should form its own organizational structures parallel to the apparatus of the authorities. To transform that organization into a political party, with a clear antisocialist character at that, is to go against the Solidarity status. Also the two-hour strike carried out in the Bydgoszcz Voivodship Transportation enterprise on 9 July is to be regarded in the same category of actions. As you certainly know from the press, the strike was caused by dispute about the director, but the initiators eventually made a public issue of that dispute ruling out discussions and negotiations. There were many points showing that that was the strike which--I think, the comrade delegates know--was forecast on television by the chairman of our region even for the eve of the congress.

The concidence with the other strikes carried out in the country on the same days is obvious. All of them undermined in society the feeling of confidence in a constructive dialogue. And the fact that the strikes were held a few days before the congress clearly sowed the intentions of the organizers and had an unequivocal political eloquence.

At the informative meeting of representatives of self-government bodies, organized recently by the Solidarity leadership in Gdansk, the functioning of those self-governing bodies was formulated in a way that did not enhance the development of socialist democracy and went against the essence of the public property of production means. In my opinion, that is an issue of key significance, and the congress should take a firm position on it. For that reason, even with the best intention of cooperating with Solidarity, we must firmly declare that on such a political platform there can be no cooperation. On the contrary, the extremist positions adopted frequently obligate the party and our aktivs to engage in a bitter political struggle. That is a duty imposed on us by the interests of the workers class and the people.

We are aware that neither the congress nor the party leadership alone will restore the party forces and their abilities for intensive activity. Thus within our range we have been against waiting until the issue is settled on the top, and for that reason we have, after broad consultations, drawn up the main activity guidelines for the voivodship party organization in 1981-83. Our point was to reflect in that program the aspirations and ideas of all party members.

We also represent the view that, in view of the complex social conditions and the difficult situation within the party, the party must change the forms and methods of its activity.

In my opinion, it is necessary to give up the ballast of the obsolete and unsuitable with the present forms of holding meetings and lectures. The party must be frank and bold in the search for modern forms of activity, not stereotype ones, but corresponding to the mentality of the contemporary Poles.

A particular place in the voivodship's party work belonged to the issues of the countryside and agriculture. We adhere to the opinion that it is possible to make progress in agricultural production in relatively the fastest way. In that sphere it is only necessary to comply with and implement in daily farming practices the adopted principles of agrarian policy. In addition to the bad will, inefficiency and the lack of initiative, what hinders progress are material restrictions making it difficult to provide agriculture with the necessary production means. At present, this is the weakest spot. For that reason we in our voivodship have been taking steps to launch at industrial enterprises an extensive movement for producing machines and equipment needed in agriculture.

In conclusion I would like to state that all the slogans and generalities have now lost their validity. What counts are facts that can be checked. That is also the point from which our congress will be assessed. The party and the people will find the congress to be successful if we draw up a program suiting the majority of society, if we indicate when its provisions will be implemented, and if we form a leadership that will win full approval and credibility.

Mining Engineer Speaks

AU211345 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Jul 81 p 8

[Report on speech by Miroslaw Major, chief mining engineer at the Staszic Coalmine in Katowice, at the 14 July session of the Ninth PZPR Congress in Warsaw]

[Text] It is mosturgent to state the economic reasons for our crisis. I think that the present state of our economy has been brought about by its simply incredible functioning offending even the elementary economic laws of socialism, by arbitrary decisions and by the thoughtless violation of the basic principles of socialist democracy.

Attempts to enable our economy to be economically self-managing in its basic units--the enterprises--were first made at the fifth party congress in 1968 and then at its sixth, seventh and eighth congresses. Those attempts have so far produced no overall positive results, and the present state of affairs, which is proof of the failure in question, is a denial of the harmonious and planned development that should characterize the entire economy.

It is high time to make our economy a self-managing entity that is thrifty and that fights against total waste and chaos in every sector. We attach great hopes to the economic reform, which should forever curb the bad and punishable functioning of the national economy. The national economy is now badly organized at its central levels, which have several times brought about our postwar national dramas. We have to realize that the shortage of finished goods in the market has not been occasioned by the workers class' bad work in enterprises and plants. That shortage is a result of the incorrect functioning of the economy and its bad management.

That is why it seems obvious that the process of renewing the entire party should be completed properly, and that the people who, occupying high positions in the recent past, were unable to prevent the destructive process of our economy's slump should be removed to the last man from the central levels.

Economic losses, political losses and deformations of socialism are so enormous that no precedent can be found for them in postwar Poland. That is why the only thing we can say is: It was the people who failed--not socialism. We must be bold and resolute in spreading this truth because our country is and will be a storng element of the family of socialist states under the leadership of our Marxist-Leninist party.

However, in the past there were people who failed, and that is why the Katowice party organization supports the proposal that a tribunal of justice be set up and that we adopt the principle that a delegate should keep his mandate so as to guarantee that the agreed programs in the individual party echelons are accounted for a certain periods. [as published]

Many false myths have arisen in connection with bituminous coal, the miners' work and their allegedly high earnings. On the other hand, the meaningful truth about the work down below is lacking. Given the current manpower, work organization, mining equipment, technological capacities and geological conditions, our miners' work is extremely heavy, but they spare no effort to achieve good production results. The slump in coal extraction has been caused solely by abolition of Sunday work and by a considerable curb on Saturday work, which amounts to 66 working days [a year]. The round-the-clock extration increased from 590,000 in 1980 to about 615,000 tons in the first 6 months of 1981. However, given our miners' honesty, we would be bad managers if we failed to see that the shortage of coal has caused great tensions in industry and in our country's balance of payments.

Those tensions may again increase in the fall-winter energy peaks, and we should clearly realize here that there are no simple and easy remedies for them. The wish to bring about immediate increases in coal extraction leads to the old solutions, but it is impossible to go back to old solutions.

We are convinced that the only correct way to increase coal extraction is to use intensive methods of increasing the round-the-clock extraction, bearing in mind at the same time that increased extraction through longer working hours is a makeshift and secondary solution.

Intensifying the use of the existing production capacities by increasing manpower under the present system of a 5-day working week is the most effective solution. But that is not easy. For example, the issue of housing for miners and their families would have to become a real issue. Of equal importance is the issue of continuous investments in the coal industry in order to prevent future tension. Restrictions on investments will cause a fuel-energy tragedy in the near future.

Another issue is the increased effectiveness of the technical and technological assistance to mining given by the cooperating departments. That includes assistance from the farm and food industry. The current standards of food supplies cannot be accepted. We have to state simply and honestly that the supplies for miners are not alms. They are undoubtedly the indispensable means by which miners regenerate their strength for futher work. However, all our society must be quite clear on a very important point: The balance of energy in Poland must not be the exclusive task of coal miners because it is a much broader task. It is also an issue of the proper use of coal.

The rational use of coal and energy must be subjected to certain economic rigors. That is why we think that a speedy regulation of coal and energy prices is indispensable and inevitable in the present situation. We will relay to the resolutions and proposals commission a document drawn up by the delegates of our voivodship party organization. This document was drawn up in consultation with miners and bears the title: "The Katowice Voivodship Party Organization's Position on Coal and Miners."

Woman Delegate Speaks

AU201428 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Jul 81 p 8

[Report on speech by Henryka Kubiak, head of the stores of the Zeta clothing plant in Zgierz, Lodz Voivodship, at the 14 July session of the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress in Warsaw]

[Text] This extraordinary congress, for which we have waited such a long time, is a fact.

As never before we delegates are conscious of responsibility for what this congress will decide--what program for extricating the country from its crisis it will adopt and what guarantees it will devise. We wanted this congress to be held at an earlier date, and I think that if we had been listened to, many problems that are now so difficult and urgent would have been behind us. Was it really necessary to wait for the 12th party plenum to settle our basic demand that those guilty of taking Poland to the brink of a catastrophe should be punished? What we wanted was common justice--equal for all, and if this were done, this congress would have been held in a different political and social situation, and the party would have been able much sooner to rally its strength for action. Nor would we have lost so many good party members. In Lodz, for example, over 15,000 comrades surrendered their party cards--I have in mind those comrades who deposited their cards with the plant committees and have made their continued party membership dependent on the results of the ninth congress.

Is it possible to continue to expose us to such trials and dramatic events? Is it possible to divide us, workers, when such divisions are exploited by those who care nothing for improving the workers' lot?

The food rationing, which was introduced in a shoddy and irresponsible manner, the panic in the market and the spreading speculation are responsible for the fact that people seem to lose their feeling for human dignity, The lines are getting longer and longer and the goods are getting scarcer and scarcer, and we women, especially textile workers in Lodz, know this better than anyone else and are hit the hardest, because work in light industry is not at all light and our earnings are not top earnings. When can the women who work three shifts and are tired out completely exhausted by their daily toils, find time to take care of their families, children and themselves? Discussions have been going on about abolishing the third shifts for many years now, but what of them? Everyone keeps talking about the need for production and about the country's needs, but, comrades, perhaps you will tell me where you see the country's interest in maintaining the third shift when the first and second have been on downtime for a long time now and when there are not enough raw materials and spare parts?

Today we are fighting to have our just old and new demands met. The dockers are now fighting for their own charter, and I would like to ask you: Do textile workers not deserve their own charter? But perhaps let us first attend to what is most important for the country, for us? Let us decide what should be taken care of at once and what can be left for later on. But whatever we do, let us not waste time because our children will never forgive us.

For many years we have heard that whatever is done in our country is to ensure that Poland gains in strength and that people live in prosperity. The awareness that this was just a slogan came to us late. Today we all know that we will not be able to live in prosperity for a long time to come. We know that this has to be so and we do not want that prosperity at any price, but we do want that Poland really grows in true strength, that its citizens do not have to live in misery, that the administration makes daily life easier and at least by ensuring a good organization of work and supplies and that we do not have to spend our lives in lines. You do not need additional investments and large funds to do that. What you need is imagination and good organization. What you need is to see that what we have is shared more effectively. We workers are able to understand everything and to forgive much. We are dedicated, but we will never forgive shoddy work, bad organization and bad will. We have experienced many crises since the war and we have seen many tragedies in the past few years. Truth to tell, little has been done for us workers, despite beautiful slogans. We have been used as a setting for high visitors. Such a situation must never again be repeated. This is our party--a workers party--and we want to have a decisive voice in it. Nothing about us without us. In such a case there will be no distortions and irregularities.

Poland's socialist renewal began with the workers' wrath, and we will continue it together with our sons and daughters educated in People's Poland. We will rebuild the party's authority and sort out our life as a nation in such a way that the coming generations of Poles, while developing socialism, which has given us workers the opportunity to live equal and full lives, would never experience the dramas we have experienced.

However, my irrepressible impression is that we are gyrating round and round in a vicious circle of helplessness, that we discuss things, make demands and proposals and issue resolutions, protests and declarations, without forging ahead. Let us break that circle. There are new people and new authorities at various levels in the party. We will elect a new Central Committee. It is these people that must take the party to the head of socialist renewal.

We must regain credibility in our own country and within other communist parties. We must take over the helm of activities and have the certainty that there is just one helmsman. We want to have a wise and strong leadership, which will say yes to social accord, but not to the one that involves concessions only, and yes to cooperation in order to implement socialist renewal. The ninth congress will not solve all problems, but it must initiate changes in the country--changes led by a regenerated and strong party. We must clearly state our position. Comrade, if you do not want to support the burden of our struggle--go. Today we can no longer afford irresolute people in our midst. We must have determined, stubborn and tough characters.

Farmer Addresses Congress

AU211628 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18-19 Jul 81 p 2

[Report on speech delivered at the 17 July session of the PZPR Congress by Tadeusz Rajna, private farmer from Plomykowo Village in Gorzow Voivodship]

[Text] Agriculture has been the subject of lively discussion recently. Discussions on agriculture must not assume the form of a campaign, as was the case in the past, and must not just be based on diagnoses and demands; they must result in specific decisions that must be implemented.

Almost all social troubles, including the most recent ones, were caused in particular by food shortages. We must set about addressing the neglected problems of agriculture effectively and in earnest. Despite the appearances to the contrary, it is a high capital-consuming economic branch. Each restriction in investments, even of one year, results in arrears lasting for several years and is very difficult to compensate for. Thus the supply of resources for agricultural development must be continuous.

The returns will be produced soon. It is an economic branch that can produce a significant increase in production within the shortest time, can help increase production in other branches and thus rapidly overcome the crisis. I do not need to deal with the causes of the neglect, because they were highlighted in a businesslike way in the government's report on the state of the economy. Moreover, a great deal has been written on the subject in the last 10 months. We farmers would like to know what the engineering and the chemical industry branches have to offer us, what we are going to have at our disposal today, tomorrow and the day after, and what we will have to do ourselves. New farm machines and equipment must be more productive and standardized. When machines vary in model and design, there is trouble with their spare parts and repair. The further mechanization of farming and increased profitability will increase productivity in a decisive way, thus enhancing farm expansion and output.

Land is scarce even now, and will become even scarcer. However, the existing regulations make it impossible to expand farms and to increase their output. The regulations fixing the size of farms, both in land sales and purchases, should be changed. In that way we will be able to settle the problem of smallholdings, which will either expand themselves, or be sold to expand the others.

Agriculture has been plagued by both superabundant and bad harvests. That difficulty was caused by insufficient investments, the lack of elasticity in the processing industries and unstable prices. An increase or a decrease in the supplies of agricultural raw materials must always be taken into account. The whole point in "fat" periods is to bring in, to process and to store all agricultural raw materials for "lean" years.

Thus far we have proved to be unable to make use of all the raw materials when they are in abundant supply. The processing industries must develop in step with agriculture. Every disproportion in this respect results in big social losses.

Unprofitability was among the main causes of the breakdown in farm production. The new prices have already taken into account the land rent and the fact that the farmer works with his family a dozen or so hours for 365 days a year.

The system regulating prices must take into account the increased costs of production.

The next issue causing concern among farmers is the frequent reorganizations, which are supposed to put an end to all irregularities in agricultural development. It is to be strongly emphasized that if agriculture is expected to be stable--and it must be stable--it must not be used as a guinea pig for experiments, as has been the case to date at the state farms. Each reorganization--and malicious people say we have had 25 of them--ruins the previous program without establishing a new one in its place, while farming needs long-term programs. We would like to hope that the new principles of work at state farms are the 26th and last attempt to improve state farms. We demand that the fine theses of the reform be made public at enterprises. It is known that as of 1 July state farms have been reformed. Alas, by 10 July state farm collectives and managements in Gorzow Voivodship still did not know the details of the reform. The bureaucratic machine once again proved to be reluctant and slow.

We have received the guidelines of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the United Peasant Party Supreme Committee Presidium for the key problems of agrarian policy with great hopes. It has been 6 months since the appropriate declaration was published. That is not a long time. But also very little has been done.

The act on farmers' pensions has been highly controversial. Why can the farmer's wife not receive a pension after reaching the retirement age? In may opinion, the new act must take into account the farm's output and contract agreements, linking them with pension benefits. Also the issue of farmers in the third group of disability requires more humane treatment.

BCP GREETINGS TO PZPR CONGRESS READ 15 JULY

AU201832 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Jul 81 p 5

["Text" of greetings message from BCP Central Committee to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, read at the congress on 15 July by Todor Bozhinov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers]

[Text] Dear comrades: First of all I would like to express our pleasure at the invitation to have a BCP delegation participate in the work of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

Please allow me on behalf of the BCP Central Committee to convey to you, the delegates and participants in the congress, and through you to the communists and the fraternal Polish people the most cordial greetings of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, as well as the greetings of the Bulgarian communists and people.

We are familiar with the historic achievements of People's Poland in socialist construction and highly value them. After the victory against fascism, achieved with great sacrificies on the part of the Polish and Soviet peoples and all antifascist forces, you have succeeded in healing the heavy wounds inflicted by the Hitler-Fascist barbarians. The country's economy, which was completely destroyed, was fully restored. Significant successes in all areas of life were achieved. All basic questions related to Poland's existence as a state within secure and just borders, and its national development were solved. Socialism provided Poland with loyal friends and powerful allies.

These achievements, which are a result of the work and talent of the Polish people, and were achieved under the PZPR leadership and in close unity and cooperation with the USSR and the other fraternal countries, are a strong basis for overcoming the acute crisis that is engulfing the country now, and for defending socialism and securing the further socialist development of the Polish People's Republic.

Our delegation heard with great interest and attention the report read by Comrade Stanislaw Kania. We share your evaluation that the present deep sociopolitical and economic crisis, which developed during several years, is a result of the bad mistakes and deformation in the activity of the party and the state and of the deviation from the objective laws of constructing the new society. These mistakes were utilized by the domestic and foreign forces that are hostile to socialism for further complicating and strengthening the crisis. The international reaction makes use of every means to interfere in your internal affairs, applying the sinister tactics of "eroding" socialism, and striving to wrench Poland out of the socialist community.

We are following the development of events with growing attention and concern, and clearly understand the complexity of the situation in the party and state, as well as the difficult tasks that are to be solved by the PZPR and the Polish people. We agree with the opinion that the congress must take effective measures to avoid the mortal danger facing Poland and must play a decisive role in strengthening the PZPR Marxist-Leninist character, consolidating the Marxist-Leninist forces in the party and society, defending and strengthening the socialist achievements, working out a clear program for overcoming the crisis and mobilizing all forces for implementing this program in life.

We understand the policy of socialist renewal as a restoration and maintenance of the Leninist principles and norms in the party and social life, and as restoring the general laws on constructing socialism and further developing the Polish People's Republic on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. We support the appeal for decisive action. We fully share your opinion that the PZPR is "a constant guarantee of constructing socialism on Polish soil." This is precisely why it must be a strong and authoritative political, ideological and Marxist-Leninist vanguard and leader of the workers' class and the entire people in further building the socialist society in the Polish People's Republic. The party is strengthening in the struggle against all forces that oppose socialism. We support the appeals for decisive action against these forces.

As communists, we express concern with the weakening of the PZPR leading role in the Polish society. We are seriously alarmed by the fact that there was a delay in taking decisive and effective measures against the attempts and actions of the counterrevolutionary and antisocialist forces aimed at undermining the foundations of your country's socialist system. We are alarmed by the unfriendly and ever more overt hostile manifestations toward the USSR, whose heroic and valiant people suffered 600,000 casualties on the territory of Poland in the struggle against Hitler-fascism and for the Polish people's freedom.

Sincerely, we cannot be indifferent toward imperialism's attempts to undermine Poland's socialist system and to exploit the events to weaken the unity of the socialist community and change the balance of power in Europe and the world. Overcoming the difficult crisis in the party and society is not an internal Polish issue only. It is of vital importance for the entire socialist coummunity and for the international communist and workers' movement. Therefore the BCP and our people fully support the letter of the CPSU Central Committee of 5 June 1981 to the PZPR Central Committee as an expression of the CPSU'S fraternal concern with the fate of socialism in fraternal Poland and as a real contribution to the efforts to normalize the situation in the country.

The Polish communists now have a historic responsibility. I would like to express our confidence that the congress will unite and activate the Polish communists and will strengthen the fraternal connections and cooperation of the PZPR with the CPSU--the great party of Lenin--with the BCP and the other fraternal parties of the socialist countries, and with the international communist and workers' movement.

In these difficult days for your party and country, we shall cooperate for quickly overcoming the consequences of your country's serious crisis. We shall further be led by the firm conviction that strengthening the unity and the political, economic and military power of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA member-countries is the main guarantee of preserving peace and security in Europe and the world and achieving new socialist successes.

We believe in the power of the Polish workers' class and the PZPR--its vanguard and heir to the 100 days of revolutionary traditions of the Polish workers' movement. We believe that with the active participation of all communists and real patriots, it will succeed in preserving and strengthening the socialist system, which is the most just social system. We are confident that the PZPR will succeed in overcoming the present temporary difficulties and leading Poland further toward socialism. Socialism in Poland is an integral part of the Polish people's history. It is its future and its destiny!

Comrades, under the BCP leadership the Bulgarian people is marking the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state and the 90th anniversary of the BCP in an atmosphere of a general political and working upsurge for putting into effect the decisions of the 12th party congress. The main socioeconomic task of the Eighth 5-Year Plan period--fully satisfying the increasing material, spiritual, and social needs of the people on the basis of intensifying the national economy, consistently applying the new economic approach and its mechanism, and further perfecting the socialist social relations--is uniting the efforts of the workers' class, the agrarian workers, the scientific-technical intelligentsia and the entire working people.

The complex automation of production and reduction in manual labor along with intensively introducing our own and foreign leading experience is the main direction of our course of intensifying the economy. Reconstructing our economy on the basis of the complex automation, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general pointed out, is now a decisive precondition for constructing a material-technical basis suitable for developed socialism, and which will secure a significant, and in some cases a manifold increase of labor's social productivity.

The application of the new economic approach, in which every economic and social activity is placed on the principles of cost-accounting and real self-sufficiency, is an important factor for implementing the tasks that have been set. The wages are effective and residual [ostatuchen] and directly related to the final economic results. The unity of direction of the interests of society, the working collective and individual persons is based on this foundation.

Comrades, because of the imperialist states, and above all North American imperialism, the international situation has significantly deteriorated. The USSR and the other socialist countries oppose the dangerous development of international relations and propose concrete measures for reducing tension throughout the world, preventing the danger of a new war, for a dialogue and negotiations, limiting the arms race, continuing detente and disarmament, and developing peaceful and mutually beneficial cooperation among all countries and peoples. "We are constantly guided," Comrade Todor Zhivkov has stressed, "by the deep conviction that there is no more important and vital task today than securing the world's peaceful development." The BCP and our people fully adopt the CPSU peace program as their own and are cooperating with all their forces for its implementation in life.

In conclusion, please allow me, dear comrades, to wish the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress fruitful work and assure you of the fraternal international assistance and support of the BCP and the entire Bulgarian people.

May the PZPR Marxist-Leninist unity strengthen.

Long live the friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the PZPR, between our peoples and among the socialist community countries.

Long live socialism and peace, the two powerful factors in the struggle for mankind's happy future.

VISITING DELEGATIONS LEAVE CONGRESS FOR HOME

Cuba's Rodriguez Meets Kania

FL211535 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1400 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw--Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), has had talks with Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the Communist Party of Cuba Politburo. The talks were held during a reception given by the PZPR Central Committee on the occasion of the closing of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. The reception was also attended by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, member of the PZPR Politburo.

The Cuban delegation was seen off at the Okecie Airport by Jozef Czyrek, member of the PZPR Politburo.

Vietnamese, Mongolian Departures

LD211413 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Delegations of the communist and workers' parties from the socialist countries which attended the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress have left the capital.

At the airport, farewell was also said to the delegate from the Communist Party of Vietnam, Vice Premier Vo Nguyen Giap, member of the Central Committee Politburo, and the delegate from the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Bugyn Dejid, candidate member of the Politburo and chairman of the MPRP Control Commission.

More on Vietnamese Departure

OW211629 Hanoi VNA in English 1601 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] Hanoi, 21 Jul (VNA)--The delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam headed by Vo Nguyen Giap, Political Bureau member of the party Central Committee, left Warsaw for home today after attending the Extraordinary Ninth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party.

It was seen off by Miroslaw Milewski, Political Bureau member and secretary of the PUWP Central Committee; Waclaw Piatkowski, head of the PUWP Central Committee's External Relations Commission, and Jan Sliwinski, Polish ambassador to Vietnam.

NEWSPAPERS COMMENT ON PZPR CONGRESS RESULTS

LD202158 Warsaw PAP in English 1100 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Jul (PAP)--The Catholic daily SLOWO POWSZECHNE made the following comment on the 9th PUWP Congress:

"The congress confirmed the validity of the line of social agreement initiated at the 6th plenum and pronounced itself for socialist renewal, recognizing, on the one hand, its irreversible character and on the other, the need to preserve its adherence to the socialist principles."

"This is all the more important as this line has not been imposed on delegates by anyone. After the pre-congress campaign, the congress became another telling testimony to the profound transformations that have taken place also in the party, a testimony to its democratization."

"The election of Stanislaw Kania to the post of Central Committee first secretary is a manifestation of recognition of the line he has been consistently pursuing since last September, surmounting various difficulties in the process, and the conviction that he will continue to lead the party along this one right path together with the entirely new leadership of this party."

"The fact that in the Central Committee elected by the 9th congress there are only 16 members of the old Central Committee, and only 4, Kania included, members of the old Political Bureau requires no comments."

"One can add at the most that an entirely new quality has been created. What is not changing is the general line of 'yes' to socialist renewal and a firm 'no to anarchy, chaos and possible attempts at severing Poland from the community of socialist states. It seems that owing to Stanislaw Kania and the presence in topparty authorities of his closest collaborators, first of all General Jaruzelski, who together with the first secretary embodies this line, it will surely be continued in the future."

"It seems that the striving to disown totally and fast those people who really discredited the party and all the deformations in its practice also backfired on some members of the old leadership and the old apparatus who not only are not responsible but have actually done a lot to save the party from the false path, and put it on the right road.

"The importance of the congress consists first of all in the fact that it granted support to socialist renewal and considered this process irreversible. From this angle, the congress has fulfilled the expectations of Polish and world public opinion, which watched the debates with so much attention."

"Will the hope that the congress gave us Poles be ultimately fulfilled?"

"The future should show, maybe the near future. It seems that we can regard it optimistically, for also for the party there is no return from the road that the congress chose, the only right road," SLOWO POWSZECHNE said.

The peasants' party daily DZIENNIK LUDOWY wrote:

"After the first few days when general observations and conclusions prevailed in the discussion and the emotions focused on the unprecedented election of a new party leadership composed of moderate centre ensuring unity of the party and the common sense of state policy, there came a time for definite debate, the pivot of which were a few key issues and the future. Apart from internal party issues, this debate focused on the generally awaited programme of action. Poles expect that the congress will spell out a concrete perspective for the years to come, a definite perspective for improvement of everyday life of citizens, especially doing away with the humiliating lines in front of shops."

"As concerns agriculture, one of the most important topics in the whole congress debate, the delegates demand that we finally stop talking about 'the green light' and say definitely when an evident improvement in deliveries for agriculture is to be expected."

"This subject was also raised in Premier Jaruzelski's speech. He pledged that the government would launch many concrete undertakings and would act in a more resolute manner," DZIENNIK LUDOWY wrote.

The Polish Army Daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI says that the congress deliberations give a general answer to the question of what is the party to be like.

The answer is that it should be wise in thinking and courageous, consistent and responsible in action. This means that the party must regain its posture of authentic vanguard, meet boldly half-way difficulties and storms, tackle disputable and controversial problems in good time, be an offensive, fighting and revolutionary party.

The vision of an efficient party guiding the nation along the road of overcoming the crisis and pursuing the development of socialist construction, a party aware of its place in the society and the state is being shaped by the congress, emphasizes the daily. This shaping is a difficult process for it involves the search for further roads of social development and does away with hackneyed slogans of the recent past.

Socialism in Poland must be the reality of the country, the nation and the state in which all its citizens feel well and secure. Poland must be a country in which man's genuine spiritual development, as opposed to a declarative one, is one of the principal aims of the political system. It must be a country respected all over the world, and not one that causes its friends to worry and provokes ironic gestures among declared enemies of socialism.

This is why the congress delegates and observers alike feel that concrete and feasible tasks rather than the slogan of renewal alone may bring us recovery. These tasks should envisage a convincing prospect of improvement of the state of the economy, morality, socialist democracy and a just distribution of goods according to the principle: from every one according to his abilities, to every one according to his work. It is also generally understood that this is only a beginning of all that from which a good, just and prosperous future will be born, said ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

Commenting on the elections to the central party authorities, Sztandar Mlodych writes that "for the first time the central party authorities were elected in such a democratic and lawful manner. For the first time in the Central Committee are people whose candidatures were proposed by delegates and not suggested by the outgoing party leadership or persons forming the skeleton of a fairly visible Secretariat, a feature so common before that we have got used to [words indistinct] with moderate views distinctly supporting the line of social agreement. This is only natural because it [words indistinct] would not be supported by delegates who decided on their election. Already from the start of deliberations in the congress hall it was evident that only the line of social dialogue, the line of peaceful solution of social conflicts is approved by the congress.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY ON NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE TASKS

LD181054 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 18 Jul 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Good morning listeners, we have received only one newspaper. We have been waiting for the others, but so far they are not available. I have been to several kiosks, where people are waiting for the papers. Let me tell you, therefore, what ZYCIE WARSZAWY has to report.

On the front page is an extensive report from yesterday's debates, while on the second page is the full compositions of the party's Central Committee, candidates of the Central Committee, the names of comrades elected to the Central Auditing Commission and the Central Party Control Commission.

The paper also carries speeches from the plenary discussion. There is one commentary by (Janusz Rajter) on yesterday's elections under the heading "New People--a New Opportunity." Let me quote a few statements by the writer.

The PZPR, since yesterday, has new authorities, (Janusz Rajter) says. For the first time they were elected with the observance of all the rules of electoral democracy. For the first time nobody could be certain as to which names would appear on the list of those elected. Also, for the first time it is difficult to say anything about the majority of them other than one thing: new people.

It will be necessary to ponder for a long time over the names of those who were elected and not elected in order to define what laws ruled these elections, in which chance, as always, made its small contribution. However, it cannot be just chance that among the members of the Central Committee there are more workers and farmers. I looked through the list of Central Committee members, there are 29 private farmers.

(Janusz Rajter) continues: These two groups have in the new authorities an excessive representation in relation to their share in the composition of delegates. It cannot also be chance that so few first voivodship secretaries have found themselves among the Central Committee members. And finally, it cannot be chance that only four of the past Politburo members have found themselves in the new Central Committee.

In the same election, people as different from each other as Tadeusz Grabski and Tadeusz Fiszbach, Andrzej Zabinski and Krystyn Dabrowa, Stanislaw Kociolek and Jozef Klasa failed to get elected.

In his commentary "New People--A New Opportunity," (Janusz Rajter) continues: It is not our task to assess which of the rejections made by delegates were just and which not. Democracy, especially when it is at such an early stage, passes sentences which may cause reservations. However, let us say as consolation that democracy serves all the people together, not individuals, even if it sometimes may do harm to them.

Nothing alters the fact that a new Central Committee has been elected, which will be able to begin to lead the party without the burden of the past, which was bearing down on the previous authorities. Naturally, it does not start from scratch. Everybody expects that the course of social agreement initiated nearly a year ago will be continued--this time, however, without detours and steps backwards, but with courage and determination, and with consideration, which is needed in such difficult times.

The new Central Committee will have no honeymoon. Society expects from it not only immediate actions, but first of all a clear sign that it wants to be receptive to the needs of the people, that it will understand the historic and unrepeatable opportunity facing Poland, that this reaction will not be limited to what is coming from the grassroots and meets with opposition at the top, but that it will listen to the whole of society.

In conclusion (Janusz Rajter) notes: Now, after the democratic elections, the party, and in particular its Central Committee, would be submitted to a severe social test. More will be demanded from the new people than from their predecessors. To be given a democratic mandate at a time like the present means great responsibility and opportunity which must not be squandered.

GOVERNMENT, SOLIDARITY NEGOTIATE ON DOCKERS' DEMANDS

Labor Ministry Communique

LD180831 Warsaw PAP in English 2245 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Jul (PAP)--In connection with the breaking off of talks on the "docker's charter," the ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs said in a statement that demands for wage increases and special privileges are advanced by industries which are neither the lowest paid nor in the worst situation but industries that have the most muscle. According to the ministry, seaports are a good example of a group which is putting forth determined demands of unprecedented privileges.

In October last year , the government agreed on preparing the "docker's charter." However, according to the then signed social contract, these rights must be analogous to privileges included in "charters" granted to other professional groups, and in particular to the "miner's charter" and the "shipyard worker's charter."

Negotiations on implementing the "docker's charter" have been going on for many months. A communique informing what privileges have acquired governmental consent and which have not was released. The government has agreed on, inter alia, seniority supplementary pay, jubilee awards of 75 to 300 per cent of the salary, granting credits to the newly employed and newly married, longer paid vacation after the first year of work, retirement severance pay and old-age pension supplements.

Solidarity representatives of the sea ports are, however, demanding further privileges to which the governmental side does not consent. This refers in particular to: extra paid holiday after 15 years of work and then after every next five-year work period, a right to have sanatorium treatment or preventive rest on top of regular paid holiday, the introduction of a 100 percent of the salary jubilee premium granted after completing 20 years of work to be paid again every 5 years and the introduction of a fully reimbursed free of work "port worker's day."

Other postulates demanding the introduction of a seniority supplement of up to 25 percent of the salary and, in the case of certain posts, increased to 100 per cent are also put forth. The port workers are also requesting free rail tickets during the holiday period.

The demands of the port workers for special privilege to be included in their "docker's charter" not only surpass the rights granted to miners or shipyard workers , but give ground to an escalation of unprecedented demands from other industries, resulting in additional annual expenses for the state amounting to several score thousand million zlotys.

According to the Labour Ministry, a "docker's charter" including privileges equal to those under other charters is the only reasonable solution to this problem. This should be followed by initiating government-labor unions negotiations over wages, social and retirement problems, aiming at resolving conflicting issues in such a way as to ensure proper income and social benefits proportions.

Talks Resume

LD211202 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] Talks concerning the dock workers' charter were resumed at 1200 today in the port complex Szczecin-Swinoujscie. The government commission is led by Minister Stanislaw Bejger, head of the Maritime Economy Office, and the Solidarity delegation is led by Stanislaw Jarosz, chairman of the National Coordinating Commission of dock workers.

Minister Bejger expressed the conviction that concrete settlements will be made (?regarding) the dock workers' charter at today's meeting, and suggested the convening of an editorial group, with the purpose of elaborating the charter's final form. Most of the points of the charter were agreed on at previous meetings.

Talks Hit Snag

LD211538 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] As we have already reported, the latest round of talks is taking place in Szczecin today between the government commission led by minister Stanislaw Bejger, head of the Maritime Economy Office, and the National Coordinating Commission of maritime dock workers' chapter of NSZZ Solidarity. Bones of contention connected with the dock workers' charter are being examined.

There is now a break in these talks during which experts from both sides are discussing and redrafting the point pertaining to the principle of granting extra vacations. A differences of opinion has begun to show in this matter.

The Government side is maintaining that one cannot decide automatically in such matters. A doctor should decide on whether one gets an extra vacation after 15 years of work. The Coordinating Commission holds the view that only those doing the heaviest work should be entitled to an extra vacation after 15 years of work. Both sides are disposed to further discussion. They want to sign the dock workers' charter today.

Union Against Strike

LD201916 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] The Main Board of the Seamen and Dockers Trade Union has adopted an appeal in connection with the conflict over the dock workers' charter. There is a reminder in it that the plenum of the Main Board of that union came out in favor of the immediate introduction of a dock workers' charter and privileges for those employed in commercial, fishing and river ports.

The deadlock in the negotiations, the appeal states, has arisen as a result of a hardening of standpoints of the government commission and the NSZZ Solidarity. The Seamen's and Dockers' Trade Union, without denying the right to demand the privileges, comes out against the general strike announced by the National Coordinating Committee of the dockers branch of the NSZZ Solidarity. The appeal goes on to state that in view of the agreement regarding the majority of the privileges contained in the draft dock workers' charter, those privileges should be introduced without delay and retroactive from 1 March this year. The privileges on which there were differing standpoints, should be the subject of further negotiations. The Seamen and Dockers Trade Union therefore appeals to all employees of enterprises in the ports sector not to strike.

More on Talks

LD212206 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Excerpts] In the talks being held in Szczecin between the government commission and the National Coordinating Commission [KKK] of workers of the seaports branch of NSZZ Solidarity, on the subject of a dock workers' charter, there are still differences of opinion. At present a meeting of the KKK is in progress which is to take a stand on the controversial problems and the course of the talks up to now.

The executive of the Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee, in a special statement, said that the vital need to maintain the social calm essential for overcoming the crisis means that there is no alternative to continuing the talks right up to the end of the dispute. A similar stand was taken by the plenum and executive of the PZPR works committee in the Gdansk port administration. In a statement on the topic it stated that in a period so difficult for the country and the party, it will be hard for members and candidate members of the party to find a moral justification for taking part in the announced strike. Everything must be done for the talks started in Szczecin to end in agreement.

The Main Board of the Seamen and Dockers Trade Union, as we have reported, has appealed to all employees of the port enterprises and to union members not to strike.

Accord Reached; Strike Off

LD220840 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 22 Jul 81

[Szczecin correspondent Marek Berka Report]

[Text] This morning, after 16 hours of stormy discussions, the dock workers' charter has been signed in Szczecin. Here are statements made immediately after the talks ended by the head of the Maritime Economy Office, Minister Stanislaw Bejger, and the chairman of the National Coordinating Commission of NSZZ Solidarity dock workers' branch, Stanislaw Jarosz.

[Begin recording] [Bejger] These have been difficult hours, especially as the meeting was the fourth in succession. We have found compromise solutions. We have reached agreement. We have initialled the charter. I think that both sides have reason to be pleased, though on the other hand, as with every compromise, it does not spell complete happiness for the negotiators. But I imagine it was impossible to expect that one of the sides would achieve 100 percent of its goals, since then there would have been no compromise.

[Question] Mr Minister, are you leaving Szczecin satisfied?

[Answer] Well, I think you could describe it that way, that I am satisfied. Above all I am pleased because we have reached agreement and we have settled the charter. There will be no strike and we can resume normal, peaceful work.

[Jarosz] I am relieved, as must be the case for most of us. I am satisfied, as the struggle for the dock workers' charter is already a tradition. In this hall 10 years ago talks were held on the dock workers' charter. I am calling it a dock workers' charter, although as a trade union we have given up that title.

[Question] What is it going to be called?

[Answer] A (?collection) of rights. [Words indistinct] as regards extra vacations. For instance, there are so-called preventive vacations, health vacations. Until now when a worker was selected by the doctor for this type of vacation, he had to use up his own vacation for this purpose. Now we have won the right to use these preventive vacations as additional vacations. If however [words indistinct]. Thus we have not completely lost on this issue, maybe not because of ill will on the part of the government, but simply due to lack of means. [end recording]

Thus, agreement has been reached and the strike of dock workers planned for 23 July has been called off.

Solidarity Statement

LD221214 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 22 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Jul (PAP)--On the night of 21-22 July, talks ended in Szczecin between the governmental commission and the National Coordinating Commission of dock workers of the Solidarity trade union, as a result of which an agreement was signed on the dock workers' charter.

In connection with this, a representative of the National Coordinating Commission published the following statement: Proceeding from a deep concern for the fate of the homeland and in full awareness of the grave national economic situation, the National Coordinating Commission of dock workers of the Solidarity trade union is calling off the strike planned for 23 July.

GROUPS OPPOSE LOT AIRLINE 24 JULY STRIKE CALL

LD171544 Warsaw PAP in English 1444 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Jul (PAP)--In connection with the strike of the Polish Airline LOT announced for July 24 by the airline's Solidarity union, the Polish press agency PAP has received the following statement from the management, [words indistinct] organization, the trade union of air services workers' union, and the trade union of transport and road workers of the board of air traffic and transport airports:

"The management, the PUWP basic organization, and the independent self-governing trade union of workers of air traffic services and transport airports announce that they do not support the strike organized by the LOT Airline employees. The employees affiliated in our organizations are not taking part in the strike. The airport services are working normally. [quotation marks as received]

At the same time an appeal has been sent out to Solidarity members to abstain from the strike organized at the LOT Airline.

Solidarity Suspends LOT Strike

LD212324 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] The LOT strike action has been suspended [zawiesic]. Talks were conducted yesterday between the Ministry of Transportation and representatives of the work force of the Polish Airline LOT. The aim of these talks was to reach an agreement in order to normalize the situation in the enterprise.

In the afternoon the LOT representatives were received by Mieczyslaw Zajfryd, minister of transportation, who informed them of the contents of the letter which he had received from Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski.

In this letter the premier stated among other things that he considers that it is fully justified to define the financial-economic independence of the Polish Airline LOT in the sphere of air transportation operations in accordance with the precepts of the economic reform. The financial-economic independence of the enterprise should be defined by a separate statute in which other matters pertaining to the organization and activities of the Polish Airline LOT are also regulated.

In the late evening there was a session of the enterprise commission of Solidarity attached to the Polish Airline LOT. A decision was adopted at this session in which we read inter alia: Viewing the statement contained in the premier's letter as a resumption of the dialogue with the authorities which was broken off not through our fault, the enterprise commission of Solidarity suspends the strike action planned for 24 July despite the fact that the demands of the workforces have not been fulfilled.

NSZZ SOLIDARITY OCCUPIES TU OFFICES IN WROCLAW

LD211920 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] The Workers' Information Agency has transmitted the following communique:

The premises of the district Consultative Commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions in Wroclaw were broken into and occupied today by NSZZ Solidarity of the Lower Silesian region. At the same time the compulsory eviction of the district council of the trade union of health service workers is being carried out.

In this connection, the Consultative Commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions sharply protests such methods of behavior which are a brutal attack on the independence of the self-governing nature of the industrial unions and are an example of law and order in the state being violated.

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 2100 GMT on 21 July carries a report on the occupation of the trade union offices in Wroclaw which is identical except for the following variation in the last paragraph, beginning on line one: "In this connection, the Consultative Commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions sharply protests against such acts of behavior and has decided to mount a firm interventionary campaign to oppose such violations of the rule of law."]

GDANSK SOLIDARITY SESSION DISCUSSIONS END

LD191400 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Text] After a session lasting 4 days, the discussions of the first general assembly of NSZZ Solidarity delegates from Gdansk region have ended. The 60-man regional authorities were elected at the head [word indistinct] and 53 delegates to the Solidarity national congress.

New Regional Board Meets

LD211548 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] The first session of the newly elected 60-member regional board of NSZZ Solidarity was held in Gdansk. An 11-member Presidium has been elected which includes, apart from Lech Walesa, the following: A. Kozicki; B. Lis; Z. Zlotkowski; J. Klys; K. (Mwruszczyk?); J. Merkel; A. Opiela; J. Samsoncwicz; M. Grubba; B. Golac; and S. Fudakowski. The absence of A. Gwiazda from the Presidium is conspicuous. The regional board supported the demands of the trade unionists in the conflicts concerning the dockworkers' charter.

POBRZEZE SOLIDARITY SESSION ENDS, 12 ELECTED

LD191346 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1230 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Text] The third round of the first general assembly session of the delegates of NSZZ Solidarity of Pobrzeze region in Koszalin Voivodship has come to an end. Twelve delegates to the Solidarity national congress have been elected. Pawel Michalak has been chosen chairman of the newly elected board. A draft of the program for activities of the board was presented during the session. It was also established that no protest actions or strike will be arranged in Koszalin Voivodship without prior consent from the board of the region.

TU COMMISSION VIEWS FOOD SHORTAGES, RATIONING

LD212225 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] The Consultative Commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions held a session chaired by Albin Szyszka. It discussed today the current socioeconomic situation in the country. It listened with profound concern and alarm to a report about the worsening shortages on the home market, and in particular about the continually worsening meat supplies and supplies of other foodstuffs which are rationed.

It was stated during the session that the industrial trade union movement cannot accept the lack of availability of foodstuffs to fulfill the food coupons which have been issued.

It was stressed also that any attempts to reduce the meat rations that have been agreed on are unacceptable in the present market situation.

The commission backed the appeals of the central board of the metalworkers trade union which opposes attempts to organize so-called hunger marches stating that no one can expose mothers and children to these collective manifestations.

DISSIDENTS ORGANIZING MARCH ON WARSAW 25 July

NC201418 Paris AFP in English 1409 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Jul (AFP) -- A "march on Warsaw" on behalf of Poland's "Political prisoners" is being organized here, according to dissident sources.

Committees "for the defense of those imprisoned for their opinions" plan to start marches on July 25 that would converge on Warsaw on August 1, anniversary of the Warsaw uprising in the Second World War.

The demonstration's organizers are calling for the setting free of three leaders of the League for an Independent Poland between sessions of their trial. These include Leszek Moczulski, the president, Tadeusz Stanski and Roman Szeremietiew, who were reimprisoned on July 9 by a decision of the Polish Supreme Court.

The fourth leader of the league, Tadeusz Jandziszak, was set free "under supervision" for "health reasons." The next phase of their trial is set for Warsaw on July 23.

The marchers, starting from different points in the country, would cover an average of 150 kilometers (about 90 miles).

REPORTS OF LOT PLANE HIJACKING TO WEST BERLIN

Hijacking Announced

LD211632 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] And now literally a last minute piece of news from West Berlin. A plane of the Polish Airlines LOT on a flight from Gdansk to Katowice was hijacked to West Berlin where it landed safely at Templehof Airport in the American sector. At the moment there is no information as to who the hijackers were and how many people were on board.

Further Details

LD211746 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] According to the information supplied by LOT, an aircraft belonging to them was hijacked this afternoon. It is an aircraft of the AN-24 type and it was making a flight from Katowice to Gdansk. At about 1640 the aircraft crossed the border between Poland and the GDR. There are 50 passengers on board the plane including a few foreigners. At 1700 the aircraft landed safely at the airport in West Berlin.

Early reports indicate that there was one hijacker on board the plane; he threatened the pilot with a pistol and a grenade and forced him to make a landing. Representatives of the Polish military mission in West Berlin arrived at the point where the aircraft landed. They carried out all the necessary action to ensure that the passengers and crew were cared for and that the aircraft itself was looked after. Action has also been taken to ensure that the victims of the hijacking can return as soon as possible.

Hijacking Aftermath

LD212118 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Excerpts] [Announcer] There has been an act of air terrorism against the Polish Airlines, LOT. Henryk Kollat is on the line from West Berlin:

[Kollat] RIAS [radio in the American sector] Radio has reported that the hijacker has left the aircraft deck and is being interviewed by the U.S. Military Police. It also has been reported that the crew has asked for 2,000 liters of fuel in order to return to the country, to Gdansk. Present at the airport are representatives of the consular section of the Polish military mission in West Berlin who are attempting to get the plane to return with the crew and passengers to the country as soon as possible. It is worth recalling that this is not the first hijacking to West Berlin and that the last hijacker received an outrageously lenient sentence: 4 years imprisonment.

[Announcer] PAP reported this evening that a young man named Pietka is the hijacker of the plane. He boarded the plane at the last minute in Katowice.

Plane Returns Home

LD220800 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 22 Jul 81

[Text] As reported earlier, a Polish Airlines plane was hijacked to West Berlin yesterday. The plane was flying from Katowice to Gdansk. The hijacker is 21-year-old Bernard Pietka who terrorized the stewardess with a training grenade and a real pistol loaded with one bullet. Fifty passengers were on board the hijacked plane. The U.S. authorities in West Berlin entrusted the investigation to the West German police. Present at the hearings were representatives of the Polish military mission in West Berlin. The investigation completed, the plane took off late last night for home with all passengers and crew. It landed after midnight at Rebiechowo Airport. Only the hijacker stayed in West Berlin.

Hijacker Reveals Motive

LD220905 Hamburg DPA in German 0823 GMT 22 Jul 81

[Text] Berlin, 22 Jul (DPA)--The Polish hijacker who forced a Polish Airlines twin-engined propeller aircraft to fly to West Berlin Tuesday, gave Poland's political situation and his imminent army service as the motive for his actions during the initial interrogations. Bernard P., the 21-year-old hijacker, has not as yet applied for asylum. He will be brought before an investigating magistrate today. The plane, which landed in West Berlin with 50 passengers on board on Tuesday afternoon, returned during the night.

KANIA SENDS CONDOLENCE MESSAGE ON ZHIVKOVA DEATH

LD212333 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] Stanislaw Kania, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, has sent a telegram of condolences to Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, and chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, in connection with the death of his daugher, Lyudmila Zhivkova, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and chairwoman of the Culture Committee of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

PAP REPORTS ON 14 JULY HAIG SPEECH, TASS REACTION

AU201207 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Jul 81 p 7

[PAP report: "Alexander Haig: Control of Armaments Only on U.S. Conditions"]

[Text] Washington--In his 14 July speech made for the "Foreign Policy Association," Secretary of State Alexander Haig said inter alia that the charge that the United States was not interested in control over armaments and had halted its talks on the subject with the Soviet Union is not true.

In that context, A. Haig referred to the concern in Europe and the United States for the increasing nuclear threat.

He tried to place responsibility for such a state of affairs on the USSR, saying that it is a result of the expansion of the Soviet strategic forces. He stressed the need to adopt realistic principles in order to create a basis for an effective approach to arms control. He also stated that such control should complement military programs.

Reporting Haig's speech, TASS drew attention to the fact that he did not even mention that the efforts connected with arms control had been crowned in June 1979 by the Soviet-American SALT-II accord on limitations on offensive strategic armaments and that precisely Washington, and not Moscow, had refused to ratify this accord, which initiated a new round of the arms race and aggravated international tension. A. Haig simply pretended, TASS stated, that such an accord had never existed. However, his statements show unambiguously that the SALT-II accord is not to the liking of the United States mainly because the accord's foundation is the only realistic principle: to ensure equal security for both sides.

U.S. BANKS CONCLUDE DEBATE ON DEBT RESCHEDULING

LD172208 Warsaw PAP in English 2040 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] New York, 17 Jul (PAP)--During a meeting in New York yesterday representatives of 63 private banks in the U.S. to which Poland owes $1.4 billion in credit, agreed on their standpoint concerning freezing and otherwise rescheduling the [words indistinct] of Polish debt repayments to foreign private banks.

The Bankers Trust Company, which heads the coordinating committee for Poland's debt, reported that U.S. banks agree to a conditional freeze, until next December 10, of payments due up to that date. They also agree to a subsequent rescheduling of payments in accord with the proposals put forward by European banks. These decisions are granted under the following conditions to be fulfilled by the Polish side:

1. Poland will [word indistinct] adopt and appraise a general plan for balancing its economy.

2. Poland will supply additional, detailed statistical data on its economy.

3. Poland will supply extra information on all of its more important debt decisions.

4. Poland will adopt appropriate levels of economic performance. They should be included in the agreement on rescheduling debt repayments.

The American standpoint will be presented at a meeting of 460 representatives of private banks from 12 states, to take place in Zurich on July 21 and 22.

Poland owes these banks a total of 15 billion dollars in [words indistinct] the remaining credits were loans to Poland under guarantees from these states' governments.

LEADERS CONGRATULATE MONGOLIAN COUNTERPARTS

AU151225 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11-12 Jul 81 p 1

[Text of message from PZPR First Secretary Stanislaw Kania, Council of State Chairman Henryk Jablonski and Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski to Mongolian counterparts on Mongolian National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) Central Committee and chairman of the People's Great Hural Presidium of the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR); to Comrade Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers, Ulaanbaatar:

Dear comrades, on the occasion of fraternal Mongolia's National Day--the 60th anniversary of the people's revolution in your country--on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, in the name of the Polish people and our own name we send cordial congratulations and best wishes to you, the MPRP Central Committee, the People's Great Hural Presidium, the Council of Ministers and all the Mongolian people.

The present year has seen important events in your country; the 60th anniversary of the people's ideological vanguard--the MPRP--the great resolutions of your 18th congress and the elections to the People's Great Hural.

We follow with affection the Mongolian people's efforts in implementing the bold targets of socioeconomic development of their country as outlined by successive congresses. We think highly of the incontrovertible achievements of the past 60 years in the field of the socialist reorganization of social structures, the development of the socialist economy, culture and education. We support the peace-loving foreign policy of the MPR.

We sincerely wish all the working people in fraternal Mongolia every prosperity and further achievements in comprehensively developing the country and strengthening its authority in the international arena.

We are convinced that the relations of brotherhood and friendship between Poland and Mongolia, which are based on the ideological unity and unity of political aims, will continue to serve our two countries and peoples and contribute to strengthening the unity of the socialist community, peace and security in the world.

[Signed] Stanislaw Kania, PZPR Central Committee first secretary; Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic; Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

TRYBUNA LUDU REPORTS ON NIGERIAN MINISTER'S VISIT

AU081630 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Jul 81 p 5

["Joint communique" issued in Warsaw on the 2-4 July official visit to Poland by Prof Ishaya Audu, minister of external affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria]

[Text] Prof Ishaya Audu, minister of external affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, paid an official visit to Poland from 2 to 4 July 1981 at the invitation of Jozef Czyrek, minister of foreign affairs of the Polish People's Republic.

During his visit I. Audu was received by Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State, Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, and Marshal of the Sejm Stanislaw Gucwa, and had talks with Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek.

The Nigerian foreign minister placed a wreath at the Monument of the Unknown Soldier.

Professor Audu and his entourage toured Warsaw and visited, inter alia, the Polfa pharmaceutical plant and the Cemi center of microelectronics. He also went to Krakow where he toured industrial plants and higher schools and inspected cultural monuments.

Minister J. Czyrek and Minister I. Audu had talks in an atmosphere of sincere friendship and a spirit of mutual respect and understanding. The talks were focused on the present state of and prospects for the development of relations between Poland and Nigeria as well as on major international issues, particularly those concerning Africa and Europe.

The two ministers exchanged views on their countries' situation and development. The ministers expressed their satisfaction with the comprehensive development of Polish-Nigerian relations in keeping with the spirit and letter of the program drawn up by the Polish-Nigerian declaration signed by the heads of the two states in Warsaw on 9 June 1978.

Expressing satisfaction with the commendable results achieved through the various political contacts already existing, the two ministers recognized the need for developing them by various means, including mutual parliamentary visits, expanded contacts between social organizations and tighter cooperation between the Polish and Nigerian delegations in international organizations.

The ministers noted with particular satisfaction that economic cooperation had been developing steadily. In that context they highly appraised the results of the second session of the Polish-Nigerian mixed commission for economic, technical, scientific and cultural cooperation, which was held in Warsaw in April 1981, which reviewed bilateral relations in those fields and which drew up the plan for activities in the coming years.

The ministers discussed further possibilities for broad expansion of cooperation, including more effective Polish participation in the implementation of Nigeria's development plan for 1981-85. The two sides attach special importance to the need to transfer Polish skills and technologies to Nigeria through increased employment of Polish experts in various fields of the Nigerian economy.

The two sides expressed the conviction that a speedy signing of the program for implementing the accord on cultural and scientific cooperation for the next few years will be of basic importance for cooperation in that field, including cooperation between mass media.

The two ministers expressed serious concern for the atmosphere of growing tensions in international relations and with increasing armaments. The armament burden is borne by the peoples of the entire world, and that is why the two ministers came out in favor of disarmament and a continued dialogue, on the principle of equality, equal security and the absence of preliminary conditions. They stressed the weight of efforts to stem the arms race and eliminate hotbeds of tension in various regions of the world. They pointed to the importance of detente and peace in Europe, and their influence on the situation of the other continents.

The two ministers expressed their governments' resolution to promote cooperation in order to achieve progress in disarmament negotiations.

They stated that the continued process of all-European cooperation and strengthening security, as initiated at the Helsinki Conference, is of crucial significance for peace and cooperation in Europe.

In that connection they expressed the hope that the Madrid meeting would make specific decisions to strengthen the process of detente generally and in its individual military aspects.

Minister I. Audu expressed appreciation for Poland's continued efforts toward creating favorable conditions for European security.

Discussing the issues of the dangerous hotbeds of tension, the two ministers expressed particular concern for the highly charged situation in the Middle East, caused by Israel's aggressive activities. They came out in favor of a comprehensive solution of the conflict and stressed that before this could be done Israel must completely withdraw from the occupied Arab lands and recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the formation of their own state.

The two sides emphasized the importance of the United Nations as the most authoritative international forum, and expressed their support for the role of that organization in consolidating peace and international security. They stressed the role of the Nonaligned Movement in solving important world problems, and declared themselves for strengthening that movement's unity.

The two sides agreed that it is impossible to achieve a world that is free from conflict and lives in an atmosphere of peace without first ensuring respect for the states' sovereignty over their own natural resources.

The two ministers reviewed the situation in Africa, in particular in the south of Africa, and welcomed the victory of the Zimbabwe people as an important step toward eliminating the remnants of colonialism in Africa. They expressed confidence that with independence Zimbabwe would strengthen its national unity and construct its state in the spirit of social progress.

The two sides denounced the criminal policy of apartheid followed by the fascist regime of the South African Republic, paid homage to the fighters for human dignity of South Africa and called for increasingly resolute international efforts aimed at achieving freedom and justice soon for the truly native population of South Africa.

As for Namibia, the two ministers reiterated that SWAPO [South West African People's Organization] was the sole, genuine representative of the Namibian people and stressed that it is impossible to positively appraise any formulation for Namibia's independence that does not make allowances for that fact. In this context they voiced their support for an early implementation of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, the OAU and the Nonaligned Movement on Namibian independence. They emphasized that economic sanctions should be applied in order to exert international pressure for making the South African Republic withdraw from illegally occupied Namibia.

The two sides condemned the various attempts to destabilize the internal political situation and constitutional government of Angola and Mozambique. They particularly condemned the arrogant assaults by South Africa.

The two sides pointed to the important role played by the OAU in solving the conflict situations in Africa. In this context Minister J. Czyrek noted Nigeria's crucial role in the OAU, especially in organizing the first economic summit of the OAU, which in its Lagos action plan laid foundations for the African countries' full economic emancipation.

Minister I. Audu thanked the Polish Government and Minister J. Czyrek for the warm reception and hospitality accorded to him and his entourage during his official visit to Poland. He invited Minister J. Czyrek to pay an official visit to the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Minister J. Czyrek was pleased to accept the invitation. The date of the visit will be fixed through diplomatic channels.

WARSAW CITES FIGURES ON PROGRESS OF HARVEST

LD180853 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Summary] A press conference was held yesterday at the office of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party during which Henryk Burczyk, deputy minister of agriculture, spoke on the progress of agricultural work.

Winter barley has been cut on 190,000 hectares and crops from 130,000 hectares have been harvested and thrashed; the yield will be slightly less (?than last year) and is assessed at 35-36 quintals per hectare. The cutting of rye has begun and it is anticipated that the crop will be good this year.

Rape has been cut on 100,000 hectares, that is, one-third of the total area sown; 72,000 tons of rape grain have been brought in and this represents the crop from 80,000 hectares. It is anticipated that this year's yield will be 18-19 quintals per hectare.

The deputy minister said there would be a sufficient supply of fuel for agricultural machines.

The yield of spring barley, oats and corn are expected to be good this year.

Barley, Rye Harvesting

LD190950 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Summary] Preliminary assessments show that grain crops, chiefly barley, have been cut on an area of more than 130,000 hectares throughout the country. Rye harvesting has begun on light soils.

MINING MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON INDUSTRY'S PROBLEMS

LD181320 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Unidentified reporter's interview with Lt Gen Dr-Eng Czeslaw Piotrowski, minister of mining and power industries--date and place not given--recorded]

[Text] [Piotrowski]. I am a sapper, maybe it will look and sound anecdotal, but I want to say that the term sapper originates from sapping, from excavating, from underground construction. Naturally, I am no expert miner nor a mining engineer, but the matters of underground construction, in which I participated, are well known to me, as is also mechanization of extraction work, sapping, and mining. These are very well known to me, owing to my having been a sapper.

[Question] We remember that you also guided the action at Konin mine.

[Answer] This was, I believe, in 1973 when the lignite deposits froze. I was directed to ensuring continuity of the mines' operation in that region's mines power plants operations. It lasted almost 4 months.

[Question] As chief of the ministry, you first visit was to the Komuna Paryska colliery at Joworzno. What did you learn from the miners?

[Answer] They told me of their difficulties. Generally they can be reduced in all mines to one basic and essential matter, which is worrying miners at present.

There are supply problems, connected with organization and employment, working conditions and proper continuity of operation of machines. At the meeting I heard a number of interesting observations and I got a very good impression from this workforce, which understands its importance, value and dignity.

[Question] You asked the miners what to do to increase extraction?

[Answer] Yes. This is conditioned by many causes. As far as daily extraction is concerned right now, we have a higher extraction rate than last year. Daily extraction reaches, on average, 600,000 to 615,000 tons. This volume of extraction could be increased through better organization of labor, ensuring continuity of machine operations with regard to servicing, exploitation, continuity of loading, and so forth.

We have, for instance, serious problems with rail transportation, which systematically is not supplied on Thursdays and Fridays, when coal has to be placed in dumps. All this requires a whole number of streamlinings of an organizational and technical nature, primarily of matters connected with improving social and living conditions for miners.

[Question] What would you do as the new chief of the Ministry of Mining in order to get more people into the mining industry?

[Answer] A recruitment campaign is taking place right now throughout the country. There are already some results. At a meeting with the directors of collieries from the Zabrze association I received reports that there are people in the country willing to work there. We are also seeking other sources, for instance, in the Ministry of National Defense. Soldiers ending their military service may report on the principle of receiving normal miner's pay, even before training.

[Question] To draw people means to ensure social and living conditions, chiefly housing, accommodation.

[Answer] If the voivoda of Katowice will make allowances for our requirements to the maximum, we can count on 12,000 to 13,000 hotel places. However, the problem of accommodation is linked with the construction problem in general in Silesia. It is a very urgent one and must be continued.

[Question] Even more so as there is another problem connected with the implementation of the Jastrzebie agreements. The pension age for miners is to be lowered, gradually lowered. After 25 years of work underground every miner will receive a pension. Later according to the number of years worked and the miner's age, the pension age will be gradually lowered from 55 years to 52 years by 1985. The trade unions want the age to be 50 years.

[Answer] I have here all the agreements signed at Jastrzebie and a very exact account of the two sides' positions on these agreements. In practice the majority of the 29 points have been realized. There are a few points which are difficult to implement. They are still being examined and concern, among other things, the pension age, and the free allocation of coal. There are about 40,000 persons working in the Ministry of Mining, but it is difficult to treat them all with special favors--for instance, teachers at mining schools and personnel working at holiday rest houses. We are seeking ways out of this, and all this is now being discussed and negotiated.

FURTHER STATISTICS ON PRODUCTION DECLINE CITED

LD171140 Warsaw PAP in English 1010 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Jul (PAP--The Main Statistical Office (GUS) said in its report that Poland's difficult economic situation still worsened last June.

The volume of sold production of the socialized industry was lower by over 48,000 million zlotys, i.e. by 16.9 percent as compared with June of last year.

Similarly as in previous months the drop in production was caused primarily by materials supply difficulties due to a lack of raw materials, both home-produced and imported.

Energy difficulties connected with the shortage of fuels and bad technical condition of power stations and their protracted repairs are the second main reason.

The output of coal in June amounted to some 13.2 million tons and was by 22.3 per cent lower than it was in June 1980. The production of energy amounted to 8,189 million kwh being by 6.2 per cent lower than at the same time last year.

The value of sold production over the past six months went down by 12.5 per cent compared to the same period of last year. It was accompanied by a drop in employment by 0.3 per cent and the growth of the wage fund by 24.1 per cent.

There are some indications pointing to farmers' little interest in animal production development. The results of the purchasing of animal products by the state are not good. The purchases of slaughter animals in June amounted to 155,700 tons and were by 30.3 per cent lower as compared to June of the last year. Milk procurement was smaller by 9.9 per cent and the purchases of eggs lower by 5 per cent.

Over the past six months the purchases of slaughter animals were lower by 18 per cent, milk by 15.4 per cent, and eggs by (?2) per cent in comparison with the same period last year.

The deepening disequilibrium is characteristic of the consumer market situation in the first half-year. Most voivodships did not get enough meat, meat products and poultry for all their inhabitants to buy those products for all their coupons' worth.

The supplies of cigarettes, matches, washing powder, shampoos, cleaners and toothpaste were still insufficient.

As compared to the state at the end of last year, stocks of consumer goods in the trade network decreased by 20.3 per cent and food stocks decreased by 43.8 per cent.

Foreign trade activity over the first six months this year was carried out in very tough conditions. In relation to the same period of the previous year exports in trade with socialist countries were lower by 13.5 per cent and imports higher by 6 per cent. As regards capitalist states exports went down by 21.7 per cent and imports decreased by 21 per cent.

The imports from socialist countries grew despite Poland's failure to fully meet her contractual export obligations. Meanwhile, imports from capitalist countries in that period fell considerably.

SZCZECIN HIGH-GRADE GASOLINE SHORTAGE REPORTED

LD171214 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] There is a shortage of high-grade gasoline in Szczecin. Private consumers are being sold remnants of the so-called yellow gasoline only at certain petroleum products central agency stations. The situation is similar throughout the voivodship. High-grade gasoline supplies to the ambulance service fire brigades and taxis will continue.

SOVIET GASOLINE SUPPLIES ARRIVE IN ZURAWICA-MEDYKA

LD210900 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0830 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] The workforces of the oil products center are working continuously on the transloading of liquid fuels delivered from the Soviet Union to the so-called dry port in Zurawica-Medyka. The greater part of the supplies comprises gasoline.

SEJM COMMISSIONS DISCUSS GOVERNMENT REPORTS, BILLS

LD201500 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] In the Sejm this morning, work on the government reports the [word indistinct] and the drafts of some bills was resumed. These matters are being undertaken in connection with topical tasks and the [words indistinct] and with the proposals for legal acts concerning these matters.

Five intercommissional deputies' groups are today conducting problem analysis concerning social policy, investment, food matters, foreign trade and the state budget.

Also today at a joint session, the commissions on laws and social matters, and on legislative affairs have met. They are considering two draft bills concerning remuneration and the pensions of people occupying state and political posts. The approval of these laws by the Sejm will be the equivalent of abrogating the decrees on this subject from 1972.

Further on Discussions

LD202224 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] In the Sejm today work was resumed on the government reports for last year and the drafts of some bills.

Five intercommissional deputies' groups dealt with problem analysis in the field of social policy, investment, the comprehensive food problem [kompleks zywnosciowy], foreign trade and the state budget.

Also today, at a joint session, the Commissions for Labor and Social Affairs, and for Legislative Work met. They considered the draft of a Sejm bill concerning the remuneration of persons appointed to leading state posts by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. The objective of the commissions' debates was the proposal of a pay structure for these posts, for their salaries will not be (?altered).

Various versions for calculating these remunerations were considered. The deputies recognized their present structure, in which their special post supplement is higher than the basic remuneration, as being defective. Two possibilities for solving this question were discussed. In one, basic pay was taken as the basis for calculations, and this would be raised while the special post supplement would be lowered. In the second variant it is envisaged that to the total remuneration--after all its components have been accumulated--a leveling tax should be applied. Earnings in excess of Z19,000 are intended to be covered by this.

The commissions came out in favor by a majority of retaining the two elements of remuneration. In their opinion, the principle of exempting the special post supplement from tax should be preserved. However, at the same time it was decided to present a proposal to the government introducing uniform principles of not taxing special post supplements throughout the whole administration. A new patter of [word indistinct] and posts was also adopted in the bill on remunerations.

The intercommissional group on the comprehensive food problem considered the report on the fulfillment of the national socioeconomic plan for the past year, the draft Sejm bill concerning changes in this plan during the current year, and the government program for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the country's economy in the sections pertaining to the comprehensive food problem.

The discussion concentrated on the problems in the current agricultural situation and the prospects in this field of the economy. The deputies submitted many motions and proposals, which in their opinion ought to ensure the development of food husbandry. These concern making the procurement of grain more efficient, giving credits to farms, and changes in the regulations concerning the sale of land.

The necessity was also pointed out for the constant maintenance of correct relationships between the prices of the production services, machines and other means of agricultural production, and the procurement prices for agricultural produce. On the matters raised during the debates it was decided to elaborate written questions and demands addressed to the relevent ministries, and to present other motions, characterized by opinions elaborated by the group, at the session of the Commission for the Economic Plan, Budget and Finances, and the Commission for Legislative Work.

The intercommissional group for matters of social policy, during its debates today, formulated several motions pertaining to the basic actions in the social policy of the state. In the opinion of the deputies, by the end of the year it is imperative to put in order all wage systems. It is necessary to eliminate the so-called old portfolio of old-age pensions and annuities and to perfect the system of social insurances and wages in the countryside. Concerning housing affairs, the deputies drew attention to the fact that thousands of premises have been taken over by offices, or are being exploited for other purposes than dwellings.

The need was also stressed to consistently execute the right of every citizen to only one dwelling. Matters of state aid for children and women were also discussed. The deputies pointed out that the previous social policy of the state in this field did not solve many problems.

Also today, the intercommissional group for matters of the state budget considered at its session the report on the fulfilling of the budget for the previous year and the basic materials on this subject contained in this year's report. It was stated that the difficult budget situation last year underwent a catastrophic deterioration in the current year. In the first 6 months, as a result of the decline in production and the worsening of its effectiveness, enterprises did not have enough means to cover their own costs. Such a situation inclines toward correcting the budget. Thus the further restricting of budget expenditure is planned, as is a growth of income by means of taxes and payments and a tightening of the conditions for giving credits.

The deputies gave many concrete examples that illustrated the need for changes in the field of the state's financial policy. The need was also stressed for the application of a rational fiscal policy to the nonsocialized economy.

Also today in Warsaw, a session took place of the Sejm intercommissional group for matters on foreign trade. The deputies discussed the report on fulfilling the national socioeconomic plan for last year, the draft Sejm bill concerning the amendments of the plan for the current year, and the government program for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the economy of the country in the sections pertaining to foreign trade.

During the debates it was stated that in the next few years we shall maintain the previous direction of trade with the Soviet Union, which for us is the main supplier of raw materials. We shall also enter into broader cooperation with the socialist countries. It was stressed that foreign trade is limited at present by two issues: coal and the structure of imports. We have to increase the export of coal, and, in imports, the spending of hard currency on food.

Tomorrow, the Commissions for the Economic Plan, the Budget and Finances, and Legislative Work, with the participation of the Presidiums of the remaining Sejm commissions, will consider the draft amendments to the bill concerning this year's plan, and to the budget bill, as well as the government program for emerging from the economic crisis.

IMPACT OF 'RENEWAL' PERIOD ON SEJM EXAMINED

PM171125 Katowice DZIENNIK ZACHODNY in Polish 7 Jul 81 p 3

[Jerzy A. Salecki interview with Deputy Karol Malcuzynski "Sejm of the Renewal Period"]

[Text] [Question] You were a deputy for the previous, the Seventh Convocation. Can one compare the work of the Sejm of the period 1976-1980 to the present one?

[Answer] The Sejm of the Seventh Convocation was not an obedient parliament, only an assenting one. The difference, to compare the seventh term with the current, Eighth, Convocation of the Sejm boils down to the fact that the parliament's control functions vis-a-vis the government, parliamentary initiatives, legislative activity and a very sharp criticism of the administrative's activities, found their expression only, and exclusively, at the sittings of parliamentary commissions and the latter did not find any reflection in the mass media, be it in the press, radio or television. Public opinion was not informed about the work of the Sejm's commissions. There was also a practice, not a rule, but a practice, that after problems had been discussed in the commissions, and at a plenary session, the debate amounted merely to a rather full discussion and mechanical voting.

[Question] And now it is different....

[Answer] Because of broadcasting, if for no other reason, society knows what the Sejm is engaged in. The problems, which in the past used to be hammered out at commission sittings, are today the subject of plenary debates; they have become public property. Today, people are aware as to who holds which office, to what extent he is active, and what he intends to do as a deputy or a commission member.

[Question] Such a wide presentation of the Sejm's activities, the disclosure to all the citizens, not only of the problems on which the parliament is engaged, but also of various opinions and of alternative propositions, is no doubt a significant element of democracy, a factor influencing the common feeling of responsibility for the country's affairs.

[Answer] The current Sejm since that crucial September session has striven, and strives to gain full authority--or, as they say, to acquire public confidence as working capital. I think that the Sejm is doing this effectively, but this does not mean that we have achieved the ideal. As in the party organizations, in Solidarity, and the public organizations, we in the parliament are also learning the new principles of discussion and democracy. There is too much verbiage, there are matters not befitting to the Sejm's rank, but these are the inevitable costs of renewal.

[Question] Those who observe the Sejm's activities all maintain that one month after another this year has been extremely arduous for the deputies.

[Answer] And they are right. We simply never leave the building. There are frequent plenary sessions; moreover, sittings of working commissions and subcommissions take place three or four times per week to work on a huge package of statutes which are of fundamental significance. I may just mention by way of example the draft laws on the trade unions, management, national enterprises, self-government and the law on censorship which is virtually ready to be presented at a plenary session.

It is worth adding that a number of basic draft laws are being submitted at the initiative of the deputies or of the government, and they accord with the deputies' or the community's suggestions.

[Question] You have actively participated in the work of the commission preparing a draft law on censorship, in which two initial proposals--one from the government and one from the community--were considered....

[Answer] And this is totally novel. The law on censorship had an extraordinary history; it had been prepared with tremendous participation by the community and the creative circles concerned. During the work we ensured, as it were, that everything universally recognized as agreed upon and everything which further appears in the Justice Ministry's alternative proposals and also the proposals made by representatives of public, scientific and creative circles should be put before the Sejm for its consideration.

Ex-Minister Bafia had greatly opposed the alternative proposals, saying that there had been no precedent whereby the government had put forward a proposal with alternatives. To this I replied that, after all, we introduced precedents in Poland continuously. There had been no such precedent as independent self-governing trade unions, and now today we have this precedent....

[Question] In a sense, 22nd July 1944, the July manifesto, is also a precedent, from which all the others have derived their source....

[Answer] Of course. This is why I regard as a success the actual procedure on deliberating on censorship. Let us not delude ourselves that this will be the best law on censorship. Writers and creative artists believe that there should be no censorship at all. On the other hand, the great majority of the representatives of the creative circles, Solidarity and other interested parties have recognized that in our conditions, in Poland, a law on censorship is indispensible in view of the country's and of society's higher interests. What mattered was that the law should be a sensible one, that the norms by which the censorship should direct itself be defined, and that there should be scope for appeal against the censor's decision. This is extremely important for public life, public opinion, and the writers.

[Question] Everyone is extremely interested in the procedure on this and the other laws. At the same time the discussions dedicated to the future, and this development of parliamentarism in Poland, intensify....

[Answer] The beginning has been good. I would see the future of the Sejm in the acquisition of a certain discipline in democracy. This means less verbiage--statements briefer and more to the point, and unconstrained discussions. It has then to do with a certain parliamentary routine. Whatever we do should be corrected and improved. There is a need for yet more legislative initiatives, desideratums and interpellations. There are current discussions on the subject of the need to create a second chamber in the parliament. Such plans have already been published.

[Question] One of them is the proposal by Assistant Professor Sufin concerning the socioeconomic chamber.

[Answer] Yes, this is one of the proposed solutions. The matter is open and certainly worth consideration. In my opinion, one of the mistakes which we committed was the abolition of the senate. It would have been very convenient to send to the senate various worthy activists who could put their experience to good use, and who would not occupy post as ambassadors or ministers, with which they are unable to cope.

As well as the option of creating two chambers, there is also the important matter of demanding more emphatically from the national administration representatives, essentially exhaustive and full answers to interpellations.

During the last 10 months some positive changes have taken place, but these are not sufficient. Interpellations are too long, and the answers often too banal and evasive.

[Question] You are one of the initiators of introducing the Sejm's "hour of truth" in which deputies ask ministers about various matters and "put them on the spot."

[Answer] I am very proud of this. It has enlivened the Sejm and contributed to the fact that the members hold parliament in esteem, and who, thanks to the mass media, become known to public opinion. The problem is that the "hour" frequently turns into three hours of questions and answers. In the British House of Commons there is a similar hour, but only an hour and that is all.

[Question] And so you are an advocate of greater self-discipline among members in parliamentary proceedings.

[Answer] Yes, because I am for all possible improvements in the Sejm's work, which would contribute to an even greater effectiveness of its activities. This in practice means an enhancement of the control functions, and of legislative initiative, the introduction of greater parliamentary routine from both sides--the deputies and the government. All in all this means the realization of democracy.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY VIEWS COUNTRY'S ROLE IN EUROPE

LD210332 Warsaw PAP in English 0100 GMT 21 Jul 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Jul (PAP)--On the eve of Poland's National Day the ZYCIE WARSZAWY daily wrote that the stability of the alignment of forces in Europe is determined by the fact that our entire continent has lasted and universally recognized borders and that it is here that new principles of international cooperation between countries with different systems are forged.

As Poles, said ZYCIE WARSZAWY, we bear a particular responsibility for the fate of peace on our continent. We live in the very heart of Europe. The course our life will take will also determine the atmosphere of cooperation of different European nations, determine whether we will ever see the vision, presented by far-sighted statesmen, of Europe as a continent without disputes, antagonisms and perhaps even without nuclear arms.

Our responsibility, continued the daily, is also what we owe our allies as [word indistinct] in agreement with the proverb saying that a friend in need is a friend indeed. Our present poverty makes us appreciate [word indistinct] word and stuff. For we have enough strength and dignity to fulfill all our obligations in the way we promised to, said ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

LEADERS ATTEND NATIONAL DAY WREATH-LAYING CEREMONY

LD211352 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] Today, on the eve of the holiday of the rebirth of Poland, the community is paying homage to eminent Poles whose lives, struggle, thought and work built the foundations of our socialist homeland.

In Warsaw, wreaths were laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. On behalf of the supreme party and state authorities, wreaths were laid by Stanislaw Kania, Henryk Jablonski, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Stefan Ignar, Edward Kowalczyk, Stanislaw Gucwa, and Mieczyslaw Moczar.

Delegations of the Sejm, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of National Defense, the Warsaw committee of the Front of National Unity, and the Main Board of ZBOWID [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] also paid homage to the heroes of the struggles for national and social liberation.

Wreath-laying ceremonies at monuments to Polish soldiers and monuments of gratitude to the Soviet Army are taking place throughout the country.

DPA CITES GLEMP ON CHURCH ROLE IN POLITICS

LD181910 Hamburg DPA in German 1729 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Cologne, 18 Jul (DPA)--The new primate Archbishop Jozef Glemp, has come out against the Polish Church interfering in politics. In a West German radio interview in Cologne Glemp said on Saturday in the "Echo of the Day" program that the church wanted to have an effect indirectly on social developments.

"Polish society has matured. It is capable of handling social and political questions," said the new archbishop of Gniezno and Warsaw. But, he said, situations can be imagined in which the church has to intervene. In cooperation with the Polish Government, Glemp stressed, the church was concerned above all with practical questions. He named the combatting of alcoholism, family problems and respect for human dignity.

PRIMATE JOZEF GLEMP TO VISIT VATICAN 23 JULY

LD211814 Rome Domestic Service in Italian 1530 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw: Polish Episcopal sources have announced that Jozef Glemp, the Polish primate, is to arrive in Rome this Thursday, 23 July, for a 2-week visit to the Vatican. It will be the archbishop of Warsaw's first official trip abroad after his appointment.

SEJM TO MEET 30-31 JULY; PROPOSED AGENDA REPORTED

LD211803 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] The Sejm Presidium has decided to convene the 15th session of the Polish People's Republic Sejm on 30 and 31 July of this year.

The Sejm agenda session envisages: a report by the Economic Plan, Budget and Finances Commission on the draft resolution of the Sejm on the changes in the national socioeconomic plan for 1981; on the draft resolution on a change in the budget law for 1981; on the government program for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the country's economy; on the reports by the government on the implementation of the national socioeconomic plan and state budget in 1980; a report by the Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice Commission and the Legislative Work Commission about the government draft law on the control of publications and public gatherings; a report by the Labor and Social Affairs Commission and the Legislative Work Commission on the government bill on a change in the law on general pension provisions for employees and their families; on the government bill on remuneration of persons occupying leading state posts; on the deputies' draft Sejm resolution on the remuneration of people appointed to leading state posts by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic; and deputies' interpellations and questions.

GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER BEGINS OFFICIAL VISIT

AU211346 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] Konstandinos Mitsotakis, minister of foreign affairs of the Hellenic Republic, arrived in Bucharest today on an official visit to our country at the invitation of Comrade Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania, at Otopeni Airport. The guest was met by the Romanian foreign minister and other officials.

Talks Begin

AU211828 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1752 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 21 Jul (AGERPRES)--Official talks started in Bucharest on July 21 between the minister of foreign affairs of Romania, Stefan Andrei, and the minister of foreign affairs of Greece, Konstandinos Mitsotakis.

The two foreign ministers examined the stage of implementing the decisions and understandings reached during the talks in Bucharest in September 1980 between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Konstandinos Karamanlis.

Satisfaction was expressed for the steady development of the Romanian-Hellenic traditional relations of friendship and collaboration, and stress was laid on the joint wish to further expand and diversify the economic, technical, scientific, cultural and other cooperation and exchanges between the two countries, on the basis of mutual advantage and interest.

The talks were attended by Romania's ambassador in Athens and Greece's ambassador in Bucharest.

JOINT COMMISSION WITH ARGENTINA HOLDS SESSION

AU211825 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1803 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 21 Jul (AGERPRES)--The first session of the joint Romanian-Argentinian Commission on Scientific and Technological Cooperation took place in Bucharest on July 20-21.

The commission established the objectives of scientific and technological cooperation of mutual interest in 1981-1983, which chiefly refers to mining, oil, geology, metallurgy, chemistry, machine-building, light industry, agriculture and food industry.

The protocol of the session was signed by Valeriu Ceoceonica, vice-chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, and Juan M. Figuerero Antequedo, undersecretary for international economic relations, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religion.

AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS ARRIVE; TALKS BEGIN

AU211820 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1730 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 21 Jul (AGERPRES)--The Australian Parliamentary delegation, made up of Deputy John Bourchier and Senator Bernard Kilgariff, that paid a visit to Romania over July 16-21, had interviews in Bucharest with Tamara Dobrin, executive chairman of the SDUF [Socialist Democratic and Unity Front] National Council, Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, Emilia Sonea, vice-chairman of the Grand National Assembly, as well as with representatives of economic ministries.

During the talks fresh possibilities were highlighted of developing the Romanian-Australian relations particularly in the economic field just as in other domains of mutual interest.

MOJSOV GREETS PZPR'S KANIA ON REELECTION

LD211503 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1357 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jul (TANJUG)--Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, sent a greetings telegram to Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, on the occasion of his reelection to this post. Among other things, the telegram expresses the conviction that the Polish party, the working class and the people of Poland will successfully overcome by their own means the problems with which Poland is currently confronted.

The telegram also expressed the conviction that friendly relations and cooperation between the two parties and countries will continue successfully in the interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia and Poland, and of peace and socialism in the world.

BELGIAN TOLERANCE TOWARD 'TERRORISTS' CRITICIZED

LD211242 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1111 GMT 21 Jul 81

[By TANJUG correspondent Mirko Bolfek]

[Text] Brussels, 21 Jul (TANJUG)--In commenting on the recent terrorist attack in Brussels on two staff members of the Yugoslav Embassy, it should be said that international terrorism has been taking on growingly serious dimensions in Belgium. This is worrying the countries against whose representatives these acts of terrorism are levelled, and the international public at large as well. Of late, it also can be seen that Brussels has become a European center of its kind for anti-Yugoslav subversive and terrorist emigre groups.

To be found in a supplement of MONITEUR, Belgium's official register, is a list of non-profit organizations, probably the most complete list of the most reactionary emigre "movements", camouflaged under various names. It practically "legalizes" all Yugoslav emigre "centers", "branches" and even their "factions". Recently, this list was completed with several "new" Albanian irredentist anti-Yugoslav "committees".

This medley of the emigre underground in Belgium is a proof that international terrorists evidently think that they have a soil favorable for their activity in this country. Another indication of this is the terrorist assassination in the street a month ago of Na'im Kadr, the PLO's diplomatic representative, a series of arsons in the offices of progressive Belgian organizations, and even an attempt on the life of Gen Haig two years ago which has not been cleared up.

The Belgian investigation into acts of terrorism has not been efficient however.

Fifteen or so anti-Yugoslav emigre organizations are active in Belgium now with the aim of "destabilizing" Yugoslavia, it is thought. The high degree of tolerance shown by Belgian authorities and lack of efficiency of the Belgian police--and even support from some reactionary circles--are of use to them. From time to time, this surfaces in the form of propaganda, subversive and terrorist campaigns and attacks.

Thus, in April and June demonstrations, with permission from Belgian authorities, various anti-Yugoslav slogans were used in Brussels for setting Yugoslav flags and symbols on fire, for open calls for violence and toppling the constitutional order in Yugoslavia.

A thing characteristic of this is that Belgian authorities saw nothing illegal in this. Despite Yugoslav protests, nothing has been done against the said terrorist groups, and this directly encourages an escalation in terrorism.

TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE ON DJURANOVIC'S GREEK VISIT

LD202032 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1442 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text of joint Yugoslav-Greek communique issued in Athens 18 July]

[Text] Athens, 18 Jul (TANJUG)--Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, at the invitation of Greek Prime Minister Yeoryios Rallis, paid an official friendly visit to Greece 17-19 July 1981.

Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, was received by the president of the Greek Republic, Konstandinos Karamanlis, and exchanged views with him on the most important international current problems.

Prime Minister Yeoryios Rallis and President of the Federal Executive Council Veselin Djuranovic held official talks on Yugoslav-Greek relation and on international questions of joint interest. The talks were held in a cordial atmosphere and in the spirit of reciprocal understanding and trust.

The following took part in the talks on the Greek side: Prime Minister Yeoryios Rallis; Evangelos Averof-Tositsas, deputy prime minister and minister of national defense; Foreign Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis; Dhimitrio Makris, Greek ambassador to Yugoslavia [name as received]; Yeoryios Mazarakis, ambassador in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Dhimitrios Velissaropoulos, ambassador in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and other officials.

On the Yugoslav side the following took part in the talks: Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, Radko Mocivnik, SFRY ambassador to Greece; Savo Obradovic, assistant federal secretary of foreign affairs; Nikola Cicanovic, adviser to the president of the Federal Executive Council Trajko Trajkovski, adviser to the federal secretary of foreign affairs; and others.

The two sides noted with pleasure that bilateral relations were developing successfully in all areas. They expressed their resolve to promote cooperation even more in the spirit of good-neighborly relations and on the basis of the principles of independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, equality, and reciprocal usefulness. They agreed that consolidation of mutual all-round cooperation was in the interests of the neighboring and friendly peoples of the two countries and that it contributed to the consolidation of peace, stability and cooperation in the Balkans.

The two officials stressed the importance of political contacts at various levels between the governments and the usefulness of periodic consultations between the two ministers of foreign affairs on consolidation of friendly links and understanding between the two countries.

The two sides thoroughly discussed the state of economic relations and topical questions of economic cooperation. It was noted that at the moment the state of economic and trade cooperation did not reflect realistic possibilities of the economies of the two countries. In this connection a readiness was expressed to encourage appropriate forms of long-term economic cooperation, particularly in the field of industry, and in the technical and technological spheres.

The two sides stressed that further efforts should be made to increase the volume of commodity exchanges, to diversify and improve its structure. They also confirmed their readiness to work for better use of the opportunities to promote cooperation in the area of energy, agriculture, communications, and in the sphere of road and rail transport.

The two sides paid special attention to the questions of the oil pipeline between Yugoslavia and Greece, and Greek road transit transport over Yugoslavia. They expressed their desire to arrive at positive solutions of these questions taking into account reciprocal existing interests and possibilities.

The two sides also expressed their readiness to work for the soonest possible conclusion of the protocol concerning the modification of the agreement on cooperation between the SFRY and the EEC in the matter of Greek membership in the community.

They stressed the importance of cooperation in the field of tourism and expressed their satisfaction over the extension of this cooperation between Yugoslavia and Greece. The two sides made a positive assessment of the development of cooperation in the field of culture, science, art and sport, and emphasized the need to make even further efforts to promote this cooperation.

In discussing international current problems, the two sides noted that their views on many questions were very close or identical.

The two officials expressed their deep concern over increasingly growing international tension and the nonsolution of crises. They stressed that the use of force in international relations, interventions and other forms of interference in the internal affairs of other countries threatened the course of detente, peace and security in the world. They reasserted their resolve to intensify efforts in order to renew and strengthen detente, which is universal and indivisible, and again stressed the importance which their countries attached to their respect for the basic principles of the UN Charter and of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The two sides stressed the essential need of all members of the international community to exclusively resolve conflicts by peaceful means and that under no excuse whatsoever should they resort to a policy of force or to threat to use force.

The two officials stressed the significance of the integral application of the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. They expressed the hope that the meeting in Madrid will adopt constructive decisions which will promote cooperation and security in Europe and in the area of the Mediterranean.

In connection with the situation in the Balkans, the two sides expressed the conviction that the promotion of good-neighborly relations, understanding and friendship was in line with the interests of people of this peninsula and that it contributed to the safeguarding of peace, security and to the consolidation of cooperation in Europe, which is in line also with the Helsinki Final Act. They came out resolutely in favor of continuing bilateral and multilateral cooperation between Balkan countries. In this connection they agreed to back any initiative aimed at strengthening the process of multilateral cooperation between Balkan states in the economic and technical sphere of joint interest.

The two sides expressed concern about the dangerous situation in the Middle East. They expressed themselves in favor of global, just and lasting solution of the crisis on the basis of complete withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories, occupied in 1967, on the basis of recognition of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the right to setting up a state and recognition of the rights of all states of that region to live in peace and security.

The two sides discussed the situation in Cyrpus which represents a threat to peace and security in the region. They expressed themselves in favor of a just and lasting solution on the basis of respect for independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty, unity and nonalignment of the Republic of Cyprus as well as on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. They expressed the hope that the negotiations between the communities under the aegis of the UN secretary general, which are in progress, would proceed without interruptions and lead to positive results.

The two sides expressed concern about the threat which the arms race represents and they expressed themselves in favor of general and complete disarmament, both conventional and nuclear, under strict and efficient international control.

Particular attention was paid to the problems of international economic relations. The two sides believe that closer cooperation is needed with developing countries which would contribute to diminishing the gap between these countries and developed countries. They expressed themselves in favor of all countries making maximum efforts to establish a new international economic order.

Stressing the significance attached to the essential decisions of the UN General Assembly special sessions, the two sides expressed their conviction that positive results achieved in the global negotiations would constitute significant progress in solving world economic problems.

The two sides confirmed their adherence to the aims and principles of the UN Charter, and expressed their support for strengthening the role and efficiency of this organization in preserving international peace, security and cooperation.

The two sides believe that the Nonaligned Movement has a significant role in international relations and contributes positively to the peaceful solving of international problems.

The two officials expressed satisfaction about the results of their meeting and the talks which they had held as well as the conviction that this meeting would provide a fresh incentive to the further development of relations and of cooperation between Greece and Yugoslavia and contribute to the strengthening of peace and security in the Balkans and in Europe.

Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, invited Greek Prime Minister Yeoryios Rallis to pay an official friendly visit to Yugoslavia.

The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

LEADERS SEND GREETINGS TO IRAQ'S SADDAM HUSAYN

AU211840 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jul 81 p 7

[Text] Belgrade--In connection with the anniversary of Iraq's July revolution, Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent, on behalf of the SFRY Presidency, a telegram with cordial greetings to Saddam Husayn at-Tikriti, president of the Republic of Iraq. The telegram sent to the Iraqi president specially stresses the importance which the SFRY Presidency attaches to the development of the traditional Yugoslav-Iraqi friendship and comprehensive successful cooperation between the two nonaligned countries and to their contribution to the affirmation of the original principles, action ability and to the strengthening of the Nonaligned Movement's role in the world.

Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, has sent cordial greetings to Saddam Husayn at-Tikriti, president of the Republic of Iraq, and to the Iraqi Prime Minister on occasion of the national day of the Republic of Iraq.

HODZA ADDRESSES MINERS ON HOSTILE KOSOVO ACTIVITY

LD212304 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1821 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Pristina, 21 Jul (TANJUG)--Fadilj Hodza, member of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today visited the miners of Kisnica and Novo Brdo and young people on the Ibar-Lepenac 81 youth labor drive.

Fadilu Hodza spoke to the leaders of the mines about the need for greater efforts in carrying out the tasks of economic stabilization and the standpoints expressed in the letter of the SFRY Presidency and by the Yugoslav Assembly and other organs.

Fadilj Hodza then spoke to workers on the first and second shifts of the Kisnica mine about the aims and character of the hostile counterrevolutionary activity in Kosovo, the enemy's efforts at destabilizing Yugoslavia and the comprehensive socialist self-managing development of Kosovo, as well as about efforts being made by the broader social community to develop this province in the period up to 1985.

On this occasion Fadilj Hodza emphasized that socialist self-managing Yugoslavia is a fraternal community of all the nations and nationalities which live in it, and during the recent hostile events in Kosovo, they once again demonstrated that they will not allow anyone to threaten the gains of our revolution and our integrity. We are a humane society, but we will be rigorous toward anyone who attempts to destroy the bases of our fraternal community which was set up and dearly bought with the blood of the best sons of our nations and nationalities in the national liberation struggle and socialist revolution.

Our working people and the members of all the nations and nationalities will defend every inch of Yugoslavia, from Djevdjelija to Triglav, as will the Albanian nationality whose home is in this country where they have gained and enjoy full equality and rights as do all other Yugoslav nations and nationalities, Fadilj Hodza emphasized specially since this is a hostile slogan with which the enemies want to alienate and introduce discord and hatred between the Albanians and other nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. Frequently interrupted by applause from the miners, Fadilj Hodza finally called on them to guard and nurture brotherhood, unity and community and to become involved even more at work and in production. He also called for greater material and moral incentives for the best workers.

KOSOVO SAWP OFFICIAL SCORES TENDENTIOUS REPORTING

LD201936 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] Pristina, 20 Jul (TANJUG)--Within the framework of the preparations for the session of the information section of the Provincial Kosovo SAWP conference, the secretariat of this section met today to discuss some topical issues and tasks of public information activity at this point in time. Mustafa Rusiti, chairman of the section, analyzed in his introductory report the hitherto involvement of the public information media. He said that it is not the aim of this meeting to make a full and complete assessment of the writings about Kosovo but to define the individual directions and tasks of the activity of the public information media.

Mustafa Rusiti subjected to criticism the tendencies still present in part of the public information media, in particular individual articles in illustrated periodicals which, in his words, "by writing in a one sided, tendentious and sensationalist manner about Kosovo have sown and are sowing national hatred and lack of trust in the progressive forces in Kosovo, in particular with regard to the Albanian nationality."

Rusiti spoke in particular about the need for fuller action and involvement of the press, radio and television in critical and constructive and not in nihilistic reporting of the mass action by organized socialist forces led by the Kosovo League of Communists for the further stabilization of the political situation in the province. In this context, he advocated emancipation from forumlike reporting though he does not underestimate the significance of work by forums. He advocated that the information media should be to an ever greater extent public expression platforms of the working people and citizens--public expression platforms of consistent fighters for socialist self-management, for national equality, togetherness, brotherhood and unity and for fighters for economic stabilization, on which in many respects the stabilization of the political circumstances in Kosovo depend.

Rusiti presented positive examples of writing about Kosovo and in this context he mentioned, with certain exceptions, the correspondents of BORBA, OSLOBODJENJE and VJESNIK. He praised Provoljub Pejatovic's reportage in BORBA, the constructive commentary entitled "A Summer Without Holidays" in the same paper, and the Zagreb radio and television broadcast entitled "Kosovo: 3 Months After the Demonstrations." However, Rusiti also presented examples of "wholesale and offensive criticism brimming with sensationalism and onesidedness."

Rusiti said that what causes concern is the fact that there have been cases of TANJUG correspondents in Pristina, who have difficulties in comprehending and seeing the positive changes in Kosovo, providing such articles published by this, otherwise, authoritative agency. These articles and also a series of conversations with Professor Dr Haliti Trnavci in individual public information media and in particular the conversation with him at his request in the paper NIN, and criticism and sensationalism in articles of some other papers, represent [passage indistinct].

KOSOVO SAWP PRESIDIUM VIEWS SECURITY SITUATION

LD172052 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] The Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the SAWP of Kosovo today considered the security situation in the province and topical tasks of the Socialist Alliance. The enlarged session was also attended by the representatives of the republican conferences of Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia and Slovenia and a representative of the SAWPY Federal Conference.

The hostile forces, Azim Vlasi, president of the Provincial Conference of the Socialist Alliance, warned, continue their attempts to exploit our shortcomings and problems which we now have especially in the economy, in order to compromise our entire system. This will remain their long-term orientation and we must take this into account. In continuation, Azim Vlasi said that majority of the working people and citizens, members of all nations and nationalities, understand the reactionary essence of hostile activity from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. The people have realized the harm caused by this to everyone and especially to the Albanian nationality in Kosovo and Yugoslavia. This is why they denounced the activity of these forces. The responsibility for the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo, Azim Vlasi said in his introductory speech among other things, is borne above all and primarily by us in Kosovo.

More on SAWP Presidium

LD172230 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1255 GMT 17 Jul 81

["Session of the Provincial Conference of the Kosovo SAWP Presidium"--TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] [Passage indistinct] In this respect, in Vlasi's words, among other things weaknesses and errors which had contributed to creating scope for enemy activity as well as the causes and the responsibility for the extensive lack of vigilance in the period immediately preceding the demonstrations of 11 March should be clearly examined. Furthermore, it should be analyzed why practically nothing was done between 11 and 26 March with regard to the mobility and organizational standards aimed at thwarting enemy forces and an assessment made of the resolve and the degree of organization for action following the demonstrations. On the basis of such criteria, Vlasi stressed, the responsibility of all organs and leaderships and of people in them should be examined.

At the end of his speech, Vlasi said that other types of nationalism have now gained momentum, too. Recalling that they are equally dangerous for our society and our system, Vlasi noted that we must be conscious of this at all times.

In Vlasi's view, some thoughtless moves in some environments outside Kosovo populated by Albanians, in connection with the use of symbols and other things, have considerably irritated honest people who, Vlasi says, rightly ask why these moves are made precisely at this point in time as they provide Albanian nationalism and the propaganda coming from Albania with fresh arguments for campaigning against us.

Taking part in the debate at the session of the Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the Kosovo SAWP, Sdalih Alimedaj spoke of the very intensive activity waged in the municipality of Vitina to ensure that the ideopolitical differentiation is achieved. Stressing that since the demonstrations 450 meetings have been organized within the framework of the Socialist Alliance alone, he noted that the enemy is still in evidence with slogans. In the course of last week, slogans were written in the villages of Pozaranje and Mogila.

On the basis of the activity up to now some problems have been resolved and we have grasped how to resolve some others, Jusuf Kelmendi said, and he noted that sociopolitical organizations have broken off the direct link with the masses. The provincial center has been isolated, sociopolitical organizations have assumed the role of a transmission belt and there have also been informal groups for issues which are not informal, and public expression has been monopolized, Kelmendi stressed.

Nationalism is in fact a great enemy of self-management and of the further democratization of social life. It springs up on the ground of etatist and bureaucratic relations. Bureaucratism is often disguised nationalism, and vice-versa. In fighting against nationalism, we are also fighting for the further development of self-management and for democratic relations, for the perfection of the delegate system.

This was stated by Zika Radojlovic, president of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Serbia, speaking today at the session of the Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the Kosovo SAWP. He noted that there is more nationalism in all environments because there is more bureaucratism, autarchy, isolationism, from the republics and provinces down to municipalities. This must be borne in mind in order to expand the front of the struggle against such phenomena. Radojlovic stressed that the enemy in Kosovo has not yet laid down its arms but that it will do so because it faces democratic and organized forces, the working people and the working class of Kosovo and the unity of all nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia who are ready to defend integrity, brotherhood, unity and freedom.

In their struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism, communists, working people and citizens of Kosovo are not alone; they have behind them the working class of Serbia, where vigilance regarding its own nationalism, which tends to equate all members of the Albanian nationality with nationalists and irredentists, has never weakened for a single moment.

Having expressed the conviction that the process of ideopolitical differentiation in Kosovo should proceed more speedily, Radojlovic noted that these processes would move forward more speedily when those who are under the greatest obligation to be singled out and account for their actions in a self-critical manner, do so.

The president of the Republican Conference of Serbia's SAWP then dealt with the need for energetic opposition to the propaganda coming from neighboring Albania and he noted "that we cannot sit idly by in face of the aggressiveness and diversion directed at our country's integrity, but we cannot nevertheless close the door completely to cooperation which, however, does not depend on our good will."

In the Socialist Alliance, for instance, Radojlovic went on, we have unity in the organization only as regards its external features. When one looks at the programs one can see that for years we have had no common theme or action. Statutory system is all right but outside this system is something which depends on us. We should see, as communists and as people, what can be done to intensify this unity, to halt the phenomena of isolationism and disintegration in sociopolitical organizations and in other spheres--not at the expense of the independence and autonomy of the republics, but in order that we in the Socialist Republic of Serbia can enrich relations in every sphere, because in this way all of us, both as a republic and as a province, will be stronger.

Petar Rakocevic, member of the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY, also took part in the debate. Those in a higher position also have greater responsibility and must bear graver consequences if they do not work well or, with their bad work even make enemy activity possible, he said, and went on to add that this must apply to all forces particpating in the action, because without this there can be no success. In this context he also spoke of the need for activity by branches of the Socialist Alliance in every village, every quarter, every large house.

Miroslav Lazic said that the issue of the use of flags and of other national symbols has not been fully regulated because this right is abused in individual situations.

One political act says that the flags of nationalities should hang alongside the flags of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY, and the Kosovo constitution has ascertained that this issue should be regulated separately by law but this has not been done so far.

Noting that the right of national symbols was abused, Lazic proposed that the practice to date should be analyzed and preparations made for the adoption of a relevant law which would provide answers to these problematic issues, particularly the question of whether the flag of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo should differ from the flag of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

In connection with his speech in the debate, Mustafa Rusiti raised the question of whether some people really want to have the political situation stabilized or whether they want nervousness to be introduced among honest citizens. He believes that in order to strengthen unity in situations when republic-province relations and the flag are referred to, it should be stated that the orientation aimed at enriching autonomy remains unchanged.

Dealing with Rusiti's statement, Miroslav Lazic stressed that he stands by his demand that the above-mentioned incomplete document be reexamined, practice be analyzed and the requirements of the constitution of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo be adhered to.

Azeh Vlasi also mentioned this reply. He said that the use of national symbols represents a component part of the comprehensive affirmation of nationality. Abuses of this right should be punished, and if loopholes in the provisions create scope for abuses the provisions should be complemented. Vlasi noted that the part of his speech in which he mentioned the use of symbols in environments outside Kosovo inhabitated by the Albanian population should not be interpreted as an indirect reference to those environments but as information about the way a number of people react to some thoughtless moves.

The debate on the political security situation and further tasks of the SAWP at today's session of the Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the SAWP of Kosovo ended with the assessment that no new conclusions should be adopted, but that work should be carried out on the implementation of existing conclusions, because the situation is such as to demand further intensive ideopolitical action of all organizations, all forms of activity and all cadres of the Socialist Alliance.

Statement on Banners

LD181938 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1354 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Pristina, 18 Jul (TANJUG)--At the session of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium held on 17 July 1981, Comrade Miroslav Lazic made a statement during the discussion, expressing the view that the way in which the banner of the Albanian nationality is used should be regulated in a more precise way because there are cases when the banner is misused. He also said that some thought should be given to its appearance and to its form. The public was informed about this.

In this connection the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium, proceeding from constitutional orientations and political stands, has made the following statement:

The use of banners of nations and nationalities is regulated by Article No 6 of the constitution of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, which says: "In the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo it is the right of all nations and nationalities to use their national banner. The conditions and the manner of the use of national flags are regulated by law." This article of the constitution stems from the political orientations of the top LCY organs. They were regulated by special stands of the organs of the SAWPY Federal Conference in November 1970 which say, among other things:

"The SAWPY Federal Conference deems it an inalienable right of the individuals, members of nationalities, of social organizations and of other self-management communities in which they work and live, in multinational territories, as specified by republican and provincial legislation to use on an equal footing the banners of their nationality in all places and localities where the SFRY banner and the banners of the socialist republics are normally raised. In connection with the appearance and the form of the banners of the nationalities, the SAWPY Federal Conference believes that the national flag of the nationality is the flag which that nationality has taken as its symbol."

Accordingly the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium considers that to bring up the subject of the form and appearance of the banner of the Albanian nationality in our country or to question its use is unfounded. This is why the Presidium openly dissociates itself from the views and interpretations set forth in this connection.

In accepting this stand of the Presidium, Comrade Miroslav Lazic stressed that he has no intention of raising the question of the right to raise and to use the banner of the Albanian nationality, and that he agrees compeletely with the stands (?expressed in the aforementioned) documents concerning the symbol of nationality, the statement says.

PRISTINA RADIO DIRECTOR FACES EXPULSION FROM LCY

AU212111 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jul 81 p 9

[Veselin Simonovic report]

[Summary] Pec, 16 Jul--Many people of Pec do not understand how it was possible that Saban Hiseni held various responsible social positions in the past, while now he is director of Pristina radio and member of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo. Namely, it is known that on 27 June 1966 Saban Hiseni was expelled from the League of Communists for fraud, by a decision of the Communal Committee of the League of Communists of Pec. On 18 May 1966, the military court in Skopje sentenced Saban Hiseni to a 3-month prison term for fraud.

At a recent session of the Communal Committee of the League of Communists of Decani, Hiseni's activity was discussed and it was proposed that he be expelled from the League of Communists and dismissed from all his posts. A decision on this will be adopted later.

MOJSOV VISITS BOR, ADDRESSES MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE

LD172320 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1717 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Bor, 17 Jul (TANJUG)--It is necessary always to look upon the entirity of our development and the interest of the entire community and from this every work organization and sociopolitical community should draw its tasks. This was stated in Bor today by Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in his talks with members of the Municipal League of Communists Committee for Bor and representatives of the political and economic life of the Timok region.

Having spoken extensively about the country's difficult economic situation, Lazar Mojsov said that the results of the economic activity in the first 6 months did indeed show signs of the revival of production, which was chiefly within the planned frameworks. Mojsov stressed that we are still far from the goals which we set ourselves in the sphere of economic stabilization and that we were still operating within old frameworks and moving along well-trodden paths which were at variance with the essence of the economic stabilization, because, Mojsov added, if we continue to import unlimited quantities of equipment, raw materials and reproduction material and if we continue with excessive investments, our country will face even greater difficulties in repaying foreign loans.

Lazar Mojsov added that we have had enough of verbalism, conclusions, repeating already known attitudes and our orientations because by this we are not changing anything. We must look for new methods of our activity in order that everyone may make his contribution, with a great sense of responsibility, to the implementation of his tasks in the entire sphere of economic stabilization.

Having recalled the recent session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at which a broad debate was held on the tasks of implementing the economic stabilization policy, Mojsov pointed out the need for new, broad and powerful mobilization of the League of Communists and other subjective forces in every environment and a greater degree of responsibility of all subjects of the decisionmaking process.

He also said that in recent weeks an intensive examination of our economic situation took place in the federation and the taking of series of measures in order [words indistinct].

He pointed out in particular the significance of the conclusions and of the SFRY Presidency letter submitted to the Yugoslav Assembly.

Mojsov went on to speak about our economic relations with other countries and about the trade deficit with the countries of the West, saying that it threatens to disrupt the implementation of our entire economic stabilization policy, because though we have nominally increased the exports by 19 percent, imports too are at the same time 15 percent higher. Therefore, as he said, all of us must work toward maintaining as much as possible the envisaged planned deficit of $1.8 billion, because if this is not the case we will find ourselves in great balance of payments difficulties.

Indeed, seen from the viewpoint of work organizations these difficulties do not appear so worrying, but if all this is taken together at the level of the entire community, then our country's economic position is quite difficult. Thus our activity, from the man in the work organization to all those responsible in the federation, must be concentrated on reducing the payments deficit and indebtedness abroad and preventing a further increase in inflation which, among other things, also diminishes our chances for exports.

We must accept the economic stabilization policy as a long-term task of creating a harmonious economy, and we must overcome the time when every sociopolitical community set itself overambitious tasks in its development, thus leading to overheated investment consumption which our national economy has not been able to bear.

We must give up in particular those investment projects which call for high investments which can pay off only after decades. Working for a harmonious economy implies that its development is based on our real possibilities, and in particular on our domestic resources.

As is known, we have orientated ourselves toward priorities of our development--energy, raw materials and food--because most of our imports (80 percent) go for imports of energy and reproduction material.

However, in these priorities also we must carry out a certain reorientation as soon as possible in order that we might use more rationally energy, develop industries which use less and invest in more propulsive branches of the economy.

The Bor basin area, Lazar Mojsov said, has always played a great role in the country's entire economic development. It should continue to make its great contribution. Great efforts have been needed to round off the cycle of copper production, and this cycle should be completed as soon as possible, and then we should stop and see what are the further possibilities for developing copper production, because in the future we must approach further investments with much greater circumspection.

The conditions under which we are implementing the economic stabilization are weighed down by the mentality of extensive economic activity, insufficient linking up of associated labor into reproduction entities, closing into republican, regional and local frameworks, as well as by indebtedness abroad. But we are where we are and we must look for ways out of the present difficulties and out of everything which fetters us in our further work. The League of Communists, Mojsov stressed, has set the tasks of implementing economic stabilization on proper foundations, but they are not implemented; we merely continue repeating them instead of everyone in his place implementing them in a disciplined and responsible manner.

Communists must set an example of a realistic approach to all problems, of looking for solutions and demanding responsibility for obligations not carried out.

In the preparations for the 12th LCY Congress we will have the first draft documents in the fall. They will be the basis for the analysis of the self-managing practice to date. We have rounded off the complementing of the self-managing system with the new constitution and the law on associated labor, but we must not be slaves to some set models if they do not yield appropriate results in practice. We must also remove some erroneous moves. In examining experience in every work organization, we must proceed from the income-based linking up and we must subject many normative acts to criticism.

Lazar Mojsov further recalled that this year we were also occupied by other problems of political nature. He pointed out the phenomena of isolation and division of the Yugoslav market and autarchy which cause the phenomena of nationalism. The events in Kosovo, he said, are partly the consequence of this isolation, insufficient linking and absence of joint study of existing difficulties, which the enemy exploited. This is why we must strengthen far more the socialist community and find new methods of linking in all spheres and on already determined bases and values of our revolution, because togetherness must be constantly confirmed.

Any isolation, Mojsov added, can cause a split in our forces which the enemy wishes to exploit. We grasped the reasons for the brutal explosion of nationalism in Kosovo.

This is a lesson of how the enemy can endanger the basic achievement of our revolution--brotherhood and unity. The situation in Kosovo has considerably improved, Mojsov continued. We rely on the strength of the Kosovo League of Communists, convinced that with the help of the whole LCY it will persist in its struggle. We must extend to them our help. Any mistrust of the communists in Kosovo can only make their effort more difficult. The League of Communists is not responsible for the events in Kosovo as a whole but through individual responsibility and poor vigilance regarding the phenomena of nationalism and the inclination to compromise. The differentiation in the Kosovo League of Communists is under way. Many people have already been moved from their functions and more changes will follow. However, we should not watch all this with malicious joy.

Mojsov stressed that our citizens' concern and indignation is justified, but that we must look to the future. We must deal with all problems of this province--great social changes and relative lagging behind--and seek methods of income-linking with the Kosovo economy.

In the League of Communists, Mojsov said, we are already working on the proposed platform for strengthening brotherhood and unity and for economically strengthening Kosovo.

We are convinced that we will overcome difficulties together with the Kosovo League of Communists and establish proper barriers to nationalism and other negative phenomena. The enemy abroad will fail in his plans which he has been preparing for a long time because they are not in keeping with the development of history either in the world or in our area. There certainly are no citizens in our country who would allow the violation of its sovereignty, especially not of its territorial integrity. In conclusion, Mojsov emphasized that the enemy will not be given a chance in the future because we will never again show poor vigilance about nationalism. The determination, with which we put up resistance, showed that Yugoslavia was a hard nut to crack and that it would remain permanently consistent with Tito's policy regardless of all difficulties facing us, Lazar Mojsov concluded.

The representatives of the basin and municipality of Bor and of the Timocka Krajina region informed Lazar Mojsov, Tihomir Vlaskalic and Dusan Gligorijevic, who today visited Bor, that a very successful referendum was held recently in this organization on the new self-managing and technological organization of the Bor copper combine.

Participating in the discussion, Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic said that we will resolve all other problems much more easily if we persist in economic stabilization and intensification of responsibility. This action must be led by the League of Communists in every work organization, commune, republic and the federation. This is what our society needs. We must demand responsibility for the implementation of tasks and measures which we adopt from everyone. Whoever is not prepared and able to fulfill his duty should go. Vlaskalic especially pointed out the phenomena of regional isolation and undermining of unity of the Yugoslav market, emphasizing that the third congress of self-managers especially insisted on the elimination of these phenomena. He added that, as far as these phenomena are concerned, associated labor is not immune either and that it is linking up with technobureaucratic structures which advocate local interests.

After visiting the production departments of the Bor basin and holding talks in the Municipal Assembly, Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic, president of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium; and Dusan Gligorijevic, president of the Belgrade League of Communists City Conference, concluded their visit to Bor.

SERBIAN ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT ATTACKS NATIONALISM

LD171916 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1650 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Novi Pazar, 17 Jul (TANJUG)--President of the Republican Assembly of the Yugoslav Constituent Republic of Serbia Dusan Ckrebic today stated that the internal and external enemy in Kosovo, who acted from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, is beaten and made to retreat. "We must be aware, however, that we can lastingly prevent its activity only if we do not leave it any room for it to reappear", Ckrebic underlined speaking at the opening of the Novi Pazar-Raska asphalt road in underdeveloped region of Serbia. The Assembly of Serbia president also stressed that the appearances of Serbian nationalism must also be nipped in the bud. "Nationalism, regardless of the side it comes from, is counter-revolutionary and contrary to self-management, equality and brotherhood and unity".

Referring to the economic situation in Serbia and entire Yugoslavia, Ckrebic underlined that the development can be as fast "as much we are capable of investing own funds in it." He added that the development plans must be submitted to rigorous examination and that the fight for economic stabilization means at the same time the fight for further development of self-management. Dusan Ckrebic underlined that Yugoslavia has accomplished great achievements in its development in a short period. "We skipped decades in places and even centuries elsewhere making our way out from poverty and backwardness", he said.

CULAFIC CALLS FOR STRENGTHENING OF PATRIOTISM

LD212014 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 21 Jul 81

[Text] Invangrad, 21 July (TANJUG)--Secretary of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Dobroslav Culafic today pressed for the strengthening and development of socialist Yugoslav patriotism. It is exceptionally important to us, he said, to make topical this patriotism which under Yugoslav conditions is only another expression for self-management togetherness. It is at the same time a barrier to particularistic trends. Culafic spoke at the opening of the youth games in the town of Ivangrad, at the place where the borders of three Yugoslav republics meet--Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro. More than two thousand young sportsmen from 25 cities are taking part in the games.

The attempt of the nationalistic counterrevolution in Kosovo to split Yugoslavia, Culafic said, has again very seriously brought to our notice that we can exist and develop only on the firm foundations of equal and comprehensive association in all fields of life. Nationalists and chauvinists, under the guise of the preservation of national identity, aspire to shutting in national frames. They preach "homogenization of the nation," insisting on some ethnic purity, on blood and racial ties. Such concepts and behaviour are deeply opposite to the character of our relations. They sow hatred, open disintegration processes and weaken security of Yugoslavia, Culafic said.

He pressed for everybody in Yugoslavia, at every place, and on every occasion, behaving in a self-management manner. Culafic considers that in the present situation nobody should at the same time be indifferent to weaknesses and mistakes of others. One cannot pass in silence over matters which are not to be passed over in silence. All these demands of the present moment and these social needs should also find their expression at the forthcoming 12th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia next year, the secretary of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee concluded.

VLADIMIR BAKARIC MEETS WITH CROATIAN SAWP MEMBERS

LD182112 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0720 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Zabreb, 18 Jul (TANJUG)--Dr Vladimir Bakaric, member of the SFRY Presidency and of the LCY Presidium, was presented on 7 July by representatives of the Croation SAWP Republican Conference with a "charter of gratitude" which the Republican Conference conferred on him on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the uprising and socialist revolution. On this occasion they discussed the social role of the Socialist Alliance, socioeconomic stabilization and a number of other topical questions.

The following took part in the conversation with Dr Vladimir Bakaric: Marijan Cvetkovic, Jovo Ugrcic, Bozidar Gagro, Franciska Jurak and Vladimir Boce. We are publishing almost the complete text of this conversation.

B. Gagro: Comrade Bakaric, we are taking this opportunity to ask you to talk with us about the Socialist alliance and a number of current questions about its activity. One of these questions concerns the appropriate organization of our work, the "reorganization" in keeping with our obligations and tasks and the demands of the collective nature of work and responsibility. It is not the duty only of the president with a 1-year term of office--the "October President," as we jokingly put it--to "reorganize' himself quickly, but also of all of us, both collective bodies and organizations, so that we are not left out of the mainstream of life, which flows swiftly and carries things along.

V. Bakaric: Well, you know that if what Tito meant by collective leadership is implemented, then this reorganization cannot last long, because you have all together followed the line and your total term of office is neither "October" or 1-year term of office, so that this is proceeding relatively easily. Reorganization is more difficult where major tasks are concerned, since they are perhaps somewhat different from what they were before you became head of the Socialist Alliance.

B. Gagro: It is certain that we have a firm foundation, basis, built during our past development, but we must always, one would say, keep strengthening it by struggling to settle the concrete problems of life and to further develop socialist democracy, our social relations and freedoms, the freedoms and achievements which the people of our socialist community enjoy even at the present level of development, which they "breathe in like air" without realizing that this is what they are doing, as you once put it so beautifully....

V. Bakaric: But they do notice when there is a bad smell.

B. Gagro: The people quickly notice both the good things and the bad. In doing so they expect the social role of the Socialist Alliance to be increasingly significant and strive to ensure that is what it is, the kind of role that has been defined by the constitution and the whole of our society: a mass-based and broadly organized front of the socialist forces both in everyday life and in the planning of the further social development, as Comrade Tito often stressed. We are struggling for the realization of precisely this "front" role of the Socialist Alliance of working people, in the course of which there occasionally are problems, often of practical nature, of the behavior of people and individuals, as well as certain difficulties and contradictions. This is not the occasion for a more exhaustive discussion about relations inside the Socialist Alliance as a front, but this certainly deserves full attention. We are trying to find a cure for our shortcomings.

It is particularly necessary to deepen the thought about the League of Communists in the Socialist Alliance, a matter which has recently also been discussed by the Slovene League of Communists Central Committee. One of the questions we shall have to discuss more thoroughly is that of the youth organization and its place and role in the Socialist Alliance.

A problem of sectarianism may emerge in the Socialist Alliance with regard to youth. It is essential that the youth organization genuinely represents an integral part of the Socialist Alliance and not be some kind of "reserve," a separate circle of organized socialist force. The prevalent view is that the youth organization is weak. The cause of this weakness should be sought not only in the youth organization itself, but also more broadly, from the generation problem to our entire attitude to youth. The young are at times fawned upon and at times dealt with--figurately speaking--with a stick. This is another theme which we wish to make topical in the work of the Socialist Alliance.

V. Bakaric: One can speak for a long time about the topical questions that call for certain activities on the part of the Socialist Alliance. The primary one is stabilization. You have seen the extent to which this question has become acute in connection with several major problems: the foreign exchange system [words indistinct]. The general platform on which the program of stabilization is based in essence represents an effort to turn Yugoslavia into a country with a social system which can put the world division of labor on, so to speak, a basis of equality. There is a considerable difference between that and the past.

For instance, you see that the question of the balance of payments has been with us for years. This means that something in the system is not right, not something in the laws and the system itself, but in the practical functioning of the system. So one has to exert pressure here, to rectify this. In fact, it is necessary to see that our system does not, in practice, push us toward solutions which yield these negative consequences. Why does it push us in this direction and what is this due to? Well, roughly speaking, the fact that Yugoslavia is all closed in. Closed it in, not only by means of customs duties, but also by the lack of free export and import, and you get monopolies on the domestic market, which gobble up enormous funds and foreign loans. All that can be sold is sold at higher prices and nominal personal income rises in order to save the standard of living. The consequences of all that are that accumulative capacity is decreasing and the basic organization of associated labor is prevented from assuming its role in society. To enable it to do so it is first necessary to adopt certain palliative measures in preparation for greater changes.

In our country it is usual to say: "We are in a crisis." However, this is not a crisis and our difficulties are not difficulties which emerge in the social system, but difficulties caused by this transition, by the tightening of the belt which is necessary to enable us to play our role in the general distribution of labor. This means, then, that we must ensure that there is something that stimulates us to achieve higher productivity, improved standards of living, and so forth.

In this respect we now need a broad and intensified activity on the part of the Socialist Alliance as well. First we must find out how much can be achieved by asking people to do what they have agreed to do, so that the latter does not remain a dead letter. This cannot be done without the Socialist Alliance, because it is necessary to broaden this action. Then there is also what you mentioned--the role of communists inside the Socialist Alliance, not only in the general sense, but also in connection with concrete tasks, for instance in the process of stabilization, where, it goes without saying, the party organization is also involved along with other factors. However, there is a whole series of areas in which there is no organization of the League of Communists to become involved in a concrete manner, and in such areas the Socialist Alliance becomes involved and engaged more actively, because there is no one else to do so. This particularly applies to the sphere of the exchange of labor between the economic and social activities.

The question which poses itself is what all this means in the sociological sense, why all this is happening to us. It is happening because people consider these problems of economic and social reproduction to be somebody else's problems and not their own and consequently "somebody else", our own bureaucracy, emerges in the factory and in society and runs things. It then becomes exposed to pressure and it is not able to do anything other than give way and, naturally, things go on as before. So the problem is one of transferring all these rights to the basic organization of associated labor, in other words to the producers.

The third congress of self-managers quite clearly indicated how far we had come on this road. It showed that these processes had begun, that for the time being they were still at a very low level, but that they had started. The discussion and thinking on the realization of the dominant role of the producers have moved forward along a very broad front in the basic organizations or in the predominant number of basic organizations of associated labor. This is the beginning, then, of the creation of that firm basis for the changes demanded by the constitution, and this is something one should be involved in. The results of this congress should therefore be studied in all organizations, especially those of the Socialist Alliance and should become a part of its work.

You mentioned youth and the shortcomings experienced in the work of the youth organizations. Where are the causes of these shortcomings? The youth organization is not to blame for this and our ideological position is not to blame, though there is some blame there. The absence of the young people's involvement in the social changes which we are making is to blame. The latest example of this are the events in Kosovo, which have taught us a whole series of things, to which attention has repeatedly been drawn without success. We warned that a mass of young people were students, that these young people were studying not to become what they should become, but what they should like to become, in other words to become gentlemen, to cease to work with their hands, to sit in offices.

And now it has been shown, first, that the Kosovo economy cannot support so great a mass of students and pupils and second, that on completing their studies they have no chance of getting a job. In other parts of Yugoslavia the situation is not the same, but it is on the way toward becoming the same. So what happens next? The young man begins to feel that his prospects are poor, that he cannot become a "gentleman", that he can no longer come to "rule" society and that, consequently, in the present structure of the society he is relatively without any prospect. The first symptoms appeared as far back as 1968, but were not repeated, because there is a prospect, the only thing is that youths are not involved in the creation of it. Today again you have a situation in which a part of our youth is susceptible to such an ideology with no prospect.

The youth press is full of criticism. It has become a nest also for those who can see no prospect and live in the clouds, with an ideology of the last century or something similar. Despite the fact that our youth are very good and very likely to receive positive trends, we nevertheless have the phenomenon that the part of them which has "in effect" been captured keeps growing.

Where is the way out? There are two things that should be done. First, the producer should become aware of the fact that he must ensure expanded reproduction, in other words that he must also think about the future producers. Second, the young man should become, as he is growing up, a participant in the building of his own destiny, not merely in an abstract sense but quite concretely. This means that he must know what this society's possibilities are, believe that this society will enable him to work in the future as well as feel that he is becoming involved in the process of work even before he has attained majority.

The meaning of the school reform was to organize the young man as early as at the age of 14 or some other applicable age, but it was not carried through to the end. The young man is not taking a part in the building of his environment, he is only looking into the future, to whether he will be a carpenter or a scientific worker, and to nothing else. So then, he is taking no part in scientific work or in carpentry, but keeps thinking about how to become this or that in the future. This is a mistake. One should start to get him involved in his earliest youth.

For instance, what does the youth organization of a municipality look like today? It is completely autonomcus and independent of, let us say, the party municipal committee and when the latter prepares programs which have to be carried out it first tells associated labor about them and then the delegate system, but the young take no part in this. They should take part. They should take part with their own discussions, their own explanations.

This is very hard work and it is difficult to say whether it will be rapidly rewarded with success or not. But it is work which we must begin to do.

Before the war, when we were setting up the youth organization, we were recruiting for the revolution, which means for relatively general social problems. At that time, we primarily needed young people of that kind. Later, we had them in factories, we had them in all the areas in which young people were to be found. Today we still have them in factories, but only those who work there and not those who will work there, and the latter should be involved in some way.

M. Cvetkovic: I should like to "provoke" with a few questions. We have been striving for quite a long time to turn the Socialist Alliance into a center in which views clash, while the League of Communists should solve the ideological problems which emerge in the course of the development of the sociopolitical system and wage the ideological class struggle against all social deviations. However, the League of Communists is finding it difficult to adapt itself to this. Communists in the League of Communists see the League insufficiently as an organization where an open dialogue, where conversation with citizens, with people ought to take place. On this occasion, we are again mentioning all that has happened and is happening in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. This has not yet sufficiently "originated" in the party organization. It has been discussed by the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference, but without its local organizations and without the local organizations of the trade unions. Without direct discussion with people it will be difficult to find a solution.

The struggle for new values in our society, in which certain relations have become disrupted, should also be given clearer prominence as a message from the congress of self-managers.

And our trade unions--let us mention just some of the problems--are still struggling with the dilemma as to whether hard and easy work should be equally rewarded. It is incomprehensible that there should be a large number of people who hold the view that there is no difference between them. In the world in which these relations are being radically changed, hard production work is rewarded least well. With us the safest position is that of the civil servant and not that of the worker or scientist. It is in keeping with such distorted criteria that the young choose their orientation at school and in their attitude to society. Disruptions are also evident in the delegate system where, as we are all well aware, there is a disproportion between delegates on the basis of such criteria as occupation, sex and age, so that there are not enough young people, women and workers in the delegate structures and there are fewer and fewer of them as one goes "upwards" from the grass roots, to the republican and federal levels.

V. Bakaric: Well it is quite difficult to make such a change in the party because the party has been, how shall I put it, in the management structure and the structure of power and has concerned itself with investments and some business successes and not so much with the problems of building the new system and the problem of preparing its own basic organizations to formulate their own programs. Especially owing to the lack of prospects for building a new system.

You have mentioned the orientation of the young. Find me one party organization in a work organization which discusses the development of the young in its environment. It only considers this question when it is directly connected with the work organization's business policy, for instance within the framework of its own school, but they have never discussed what education will look like, whether it is expensive or inexpensive, and so forth. Likewise, it knows nothing about the health system and it only has contact with it when it needs any of its services. The question of women, of the change in women's position in society is not discussed either. It is true that this is a difficult theme to discuss but it should not be ignored. Instead, cadres should get used to discussing this as well.

And then, in general, we have this question of discussion with citizens. When we speak about the need for dialogue, we refer mainly to the enemy or to someone from the "higher spheres". However, that is not interesting enough. The dialogue should be with citizens, with those who work, who are here, who are present and who are building our socialism. They are building it; at times they are insufficiently aware what they are building and what they are doing. However, they should be made quite aware of all that.

For instance, the first ban on reports on the events in Kosovo was completely negative. It is clear that events of this kind are of interest to the whole of Yugoslavia and every working man should have been able to know what was going on, and, in some way, should have taken part in the settling of this problem. Later on, things improved somewhat, but new mistakes were made. In one part of the media reports turned into pure agitation against Albanian [words indistinct], not taking into account what should really be done in Kosovo. What is necessary is to make possible the building of socialism and cooperation between the nations and nationalities which live there.

One should first subject to criticism the earlier policy of the leadership of Kosovo, then the question of the building of Kosovo itself, then that of the nature of the aid which it is receiving, to see how Kosovo fits in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia. No one, in fact, talks about any of this at all. A program of their action was recently prepared in Kosovo. Here it was featured in the press, at least a small part of it, because it was not yet ready, but even what has already been put to paper is insufficient to penetrate the country's broad masses. More work should be done and this should be achieved. This is a question of raising awareness and here again the Socialist Alliance is the body that should work on this.

For instance, if you look at Zagreb today, in light of the question of Kosovo, you will learn that we have a number of Albanian ruffians, a few craftsmen and a number of students who occasionally cause disorder here, but you have never heard about the large number of Albanians whose behavior is peaceful, who have cooperated with the efforts made to prevent any excesses in Croatia.

This is a matter which should have been and should be communicated to our citizens, our working people, and which should also be passed around the organizations of the Socialist Alliance. Apart from this, youth organizations in Croatia should be more involved in welcoming Albanians who are doing their military service here.

One should also pay a little attention to newspapers and see how helpful they are in connection with all this. For instance, there has been a good deal of criticism of the system of late in this sense that what is now taking place is the result of incorrect economic policies. The subheading is: let us settle this matter, you are not able to do so. In the course of this not one word is said about how this present period should be characterized, in other words, about the fact that we have decided to face the mass of these problems now in order to prevent them from becoming even worse tomorrow. When you restrict the foreign exchange balance today this is done in order to avoid having to do even more tomorrow.

Or they say: We shall dismiss 700 workers. Dismiss? Who will dismiss them? In practice you cannot dismiss workers nowadays, though you can say that 700 or more people are sure to be left without work tomorrow unless they are retrained in time and if their destiny does not depend on some compensation from social reserves. So then, these people should openly be told in advance that the practice of taking funds away from other in order to give to them must cease. It need not cease at any precise moment, but it must cease within the foreseeable future.

M. Ovetkovic: Do not let us even talk about responsibility or, in other words, irresponsibility, on this occasion. For instance, many municipalities have set themselves up virtually as small [word indistinct] and do not obey the republic or anyone else and least of all the communities of municipalities.

V. Bakaric: No one obeys anyone today.

M. Ovetkovic: This failure to listen, this irresponsibility can best be gauged by the extent to which people implement or fail to implement the adopted programs of stabilization and spending restrictions, especially those on investing. Two, three years ago we adopted a good program, restricted all forms of consumption and yet when we have a look at it all today we have achieved very, very little.

V. Bakaric: We have not yet restricted the main things. We have restricted the little things because it was possible to do so easily without causing major social upheavals. We have not restricted the main ones and that will be difficult to do. Let us begin, for instance, with inflation which is very high. Where does it come from? Well, the biggest source of it, in fact, is the Federal Executive Council or, to be more precise, the Yugoslav National Bank, which prints money when it has to cover certain budgetary and similar spending.

M. Ovetkovic: And when the Federal Executive Council spends money on bonds, this usually happens at the time wheat is bought up. Then, it does not have enough money for wheat. Instead, all the banks provide money to cover the bills of lading.

V. Bakaric: That is roughly the way it is.

M. Ovetkovic: Accumulation is falling, but we are behaving and spending as if the accumulated resources were complete, although in the field of internal redistribution it has already been "eaten up."

V. Bakaric: You see, this is what should now be changed and, it goes without saying, these changes are the most difficult ones. They are all envisaged in the Constitution and the law on associated labor, but when it comes to implementing them in practice...

M. Ovetkovic: Certain prices were "pegged" in accordance with how some people managed to "arrange things." Those who raised prices without permission are supposed to "return" them to the former level, but no one is doing so. While the anarchic behavior in the market is impermissible, administration is leading nowhere or, in other words, it is leading to even greater losses. Thus, for instance, we have brought our railways virtually to the brink of bankruptcy. In order for this very significant economic branch to remain viable we must subsidize it with billions of dinars and continuously increase these subsidies. For how long? We have also "pegged" the prices for railways. The control of prices should not be reduced to limitation but we should have some prices in line with the world prices of goods and services. If this does not happen growing losses are inevitable.

V. Bakaric: There are in Yugoslavia various views about this and in some places where this change should be brought about there are people who are opposed to such a change, who think that the situation is easy enough, that it can be resolved only by some kind of fiscal, credit or similar manipulation. This matter should be cleared up and people should be convinced about the situation being neither simple nor easy and we should get down to work on implementing the decisions adopted.

You now have a situation in which some people are asking us, are we not tying ourselves too much to the Soviet Union. Well, the general tendency today is of the whole of Europe turning in economic terms toward the Soviet Union. Why? Because it has an enormous market which can swallow endless quantities. However, this also has another side, because it diminishes competition and does not urge an increase in labor productivity, thus in fact keeping you backward.

M Cvetkovic: We export relatively a lot to the Eastern market but we buy too little from them. Such a relationship is not an expression of real possibilities. Even though they do not have a technology which would be significant for our economy they, nevertheless, have goods which could be encompassed by trade.

V Bakaric: There is another thing. Among our exports to them there are also raw materials and reproduction materials of the "green" dollar and so, in such cases, we in fact "procure" foreign exchange for them. All of this poses difficulties at this point in time and creates pressures which should be resolved. As you can see, this is not an easy job, but one must be conscious of it.

M Cvetkovic: I have worked toward some kind of center of political decision making being set up in the federation, at the federal level, not a center which decides alone but one which will propose solutions and fight for their implementation and realization. Is this ensured in our system?

V Bakaric: No, it is not.

B. Gagro: You say that nobody obeys anyone. What is to be done? The draft resolution of the third congress of self-managers of Yugoslavia also mentioned intrahuman relations. It is difficult to reconcile oneself with the need for such a thing being mentioned in such a resolution, but it does mean that what is at stake is a very serious social phenomenon with deep and complex causes.

V Brce: Perhaps one could add to this also a negative phenomenon which is fairly widespread: creating the illusion of helplessness in organizations and among people, the illusion that we are helpless in the face of problems. The motive for such deliberations could be, for instance, debates in the Croatian Assembly, in the SFRY Assembly or in some other institutions or organizations where definite answers to entirely concrete questions are often not obtained. We are often witnesses of uncritical assessments about weaknesses and the nonfunctioning of the system, which, in fact, concealing and neglect the right and the basic question about the ability and responsibility of the subjective factor to fight consistently for the functioning of the system. Hence, it is not a question of the inefficiency of the system as such but of the inefficiency of the people in the system.

Along with making personal and collective responsibility more incisive, we should fight for the formulation of certain norms of behavior, of those values on which the morale and ethics of the socialist self-managing community should be based. It is well known that communists should set an example in this but often it is precisely exemplary and socially disciplined behavior by communists which is lacking. This is, unfortunately, also shown by the violation of adopted conclusions, agreements and resolutions, that is, their inconsistent implementation and realization.

V. Bakaric: First, about intrahuman relations. What they are you can see by following discussions and polemics by intellectuals in our press, they are beneath contempt. They remind me of the writing of the American-Croatian press of the last century where the style was literally as follows: "I will straighten this mister's back" and now you can imagine what things are like in environments where they work. Such a spirit is spreading, it is, of course, present. It is not isolated and it creates unhealthy relations and the feeling of helplessness in people.

Where is there a way out? The way out lies in the public nature of work and in the responsibility, let us say, to the work collective of an enterprise where agreements are reached. Why does not one, or at least practically no one, adhere to agreements? Because in the majority of cases they are formal and unrealistic, because they are adopted under the pressure of the general public opinion. You are told: You do not reach agreements quickly, which means this is a weakness of the system. Then, you sit down to a table more quickly and you sign anything though it is known beforehand that what you sign cannot be implemented. Such an agreement, of course, immediately proves to be abortive. It would be better to discuss much longer, to resolve some problems which bar the way and then to implement that which is agreed on. However, these are mere beginnings. It will be necessary to aim at forcing the one who signs an agreement to implement it, and, if this is not possible, at forcing him to demand a change and compile a realistic agreement. But, for realistic agreements, a basis must be created; there must be some kind of general discussion on the problem. Without this there cannot be anything.

V. Cvetkovic: A great defect in the system is the fact that social agreements are not implemented and there are even cases of adopted agreements not being signed and even phenomena of agitating to reject social agreement, not to adopt them. And you, Vladimir, advocate that through verbal agreements, obligations which are not in social agreements also be implemented, and I completely concur with this.

V. Bakaric: Yes, the party leaderships and organizations do not concern themselves with these problems and cannot, therefore, provide sensible solutions and find good solutions. And without this, it goes without saying, everything must fail.

M. Cvetkovic: It is precisely in this that the meaning of Kardelj's study about the political system lies, about the trade unions, young people and others coming directly to grips with social problems, and about the League of Communists dealing with the ideological issues of these problems, in a manner that will provide the delegate system with the possibility of adopting relevant social decisions. However, the League of Communists often adopts concrete decisions which prejudge solutions and which diminish the responsibility of those factors in the delegate system which are directly responsible for such solutions.

I think that the change in the system involves all sociopolitical and social organizations taking on the role of the "first fighting line" of subjective socialist forces in contacts with the people, with citizens, with the worker, with the peasant, with the young (in this context I also have in mind the activity of communists in these forces) and then the party can in this all-encompassing social work find the appropriate solutions from the point of view of political activity.

V. Bakaric: And one should not in this context fear that the party too would make a mistake in building itself up. But, you see, in this context a party member also runs away. And you should put major problems on the agenda of the Socialist Alliance more frequently, with the purpose of changing the present practice which is: Somebody submits a report, one or another asks to speak, or nobody asks to speak, voting takes place and that's that. This, of course, does not lead to a solution. This is also the way things are done at the grassroots instead of launching a discussion and raising responsibility.

M. Cvetkovic: We have certain positive phenomena in the sections of the Socialist Alliance where views, both professional and political, are questioned and where we obtain fairly good proposals and results. However, it also happens that one or another discusses the same matter beforehand and adopts attitudes and so this action does not go on.

J. Ugrcic: This is fairly institutionalized. I have followed the work of our sections and the debates in which there are both good and varied ideas. However, the debates do not spread wide enough, from basic organizations of associated labor and local communities onwards.

V. Bakaric: It is important to go where things are happening, to gather views and adopt solutions. Criticism should be allowed and it should be geared toward finding solutions, toward resolving problems, but not degenerate into criticism for criticism's sake. Then one should "pick out" that which is realistic and say: This is realistic and that is not realistic, this you can do and this you cannot. Or, this comes at the expense of that and you should not do this. This is particularly linked with the questions in the sphere of exchange of labor between production and social activities as, for instance, the question of the efficiency of various services in the self-managing interest communities, of their adequacy and extent.

Marijan Cvetokic mentioned the question of personal income. In this sphere, the relations are completely disrupted. The white-collar worker is sure of his personal income, but the worker is not. Here, for example, before the war I was a law clerk and my salary was considerably less than the wage of a highly skilled worker. This does not exist today. It is not enough for a white-collar worker to show his certificate, he is not even tested any more as to whether he knows anything. These are the errors which are imposed, which do not stem from the social system, the motto of which is: to each according to his work, the same remuneration for the same work.

F. Jurak: You have mentioned, Comrade Bakari, the isolationism of the market. In this context I would recall some phenomena in the textile industry which I learned about while working in that economic branch. Today, as then, attempts are often made to "compensate" for labor productivity by artificial price increases. I remember that our orientation in the textile industry has been to increase productivity by "seeking internal reserves." We worked on this persistently for 2 years, and we stopped the moment the opportunity arose for us to augment income through price increases through certain market manipulations and not through productivity.

V. Bakaric: The isolationism of the market in our country, as I have already said, is very great and represents a barrier to increasing labor productivity. We are very isolationist toward other countries not through customs but through import licenses. Not everybody can obtain an import license and thus he who obtains it acquires a great advantage, a monopolist position. He does not care about labor productivity because the market buys everything he has to sell. And then one arrives at a stage when the market becomes closed. You can see this clearly in the example of the car industry, an industry which has been very well safeguarded in our country. It had a monopolist position. It became both a fashion and a question of social prestige for everyone to have at least one car if not more.

However, now that the standard of living has fallen, certain strata of the population can no longer buy a car and the market is full of cars and nobody knows what to do with them. The standard has fallen and this has become the invisible brake on the development of the car industry. In order for the car industry to continue to develop it is necessary to raise the standard of living and thus also the market. It is similar with textiles as well as with the rest of the economy. Today, we have this monopolistic tendency throughout the economy and now, as you know, the monopoly lifts more money out of the market, but it is he who gets there on time that lifts the money. If everybody is part of the monopoly then the prices will again level out at the standard of living which existed before, but there will be no progress.

Therefore, it is of vital importance for us today to open up. But, if we do this overnight, the question arises what will come out of it, because, this could cause a terrible social disruption. Therefore, our planners decided that the opening be gradual, first in a few economic branches and then in others. I am insufficiently informed of everything they had in mind in this connection. Only, the fact is that if we rush off with the implementation of that which we have now mapped out, it will not be the final solution either. The solutions should, if possible, be implemented most strictly in order for us to go a step forward but until then we must prepare to increase labor productivity.

We discussed the question of the isolationism of the economy while Kardelj was still alive, and at that time we arrived at the conclusion which, however, was not adopted or implemented in practice, about our making a mistake of "pretending" to be an underdeveloped country and of receiving some kind of advantage on account of this as regards loans which we eat up easily and that it would be more useful to proclaim ourselves as a medium-developed country and to readjust the instruments of inclusion in the international division of labor accordingly.

However, the thirst for a few dinars which we receive for being underdeveloped or poorly developed has ruined all these tendencies, and today, it goes without saying, it is more difficult to go into this than it was before; not as regards technology but as regards the general complex of questions. Furthermore, we have a few economic branches which are "a millstone round our neck" because they were developed on erroneous assumptions. For instance, we have the aluminum industry which emerged on the assumption of cheap power and surface mining which does not exist because others have taken it, there is shipbuilding, the metal industry and others. And, if you open up all this, it will immediately be bankrupt. Thus, ways out should be sought gradually.

TRADE FIGURES FOR FIRST 6 MONTHS REPORTED

AU211842 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jul 81 p 1

[Summary] Belgrade, 15 Jul (TANJUG)--In the first 6 months of this year, the value of Yugoslav exports was $4.9 billion, or an increase of 16 percent compared with the same period of last year. Imports have increased, too, and reached the value of $8.4 billion in the first half of this year, or an increase of 15 percent compared with the same period of last year. As the result of these trade trends, the trade deficit exceeded $3.5 billion, or an increase of 8 percent compared with the first half of last year. Thus, the deficit exceeded the planned figure by $473 million.

In the first half of this year, exports to the Western developed countries reached the value of $1,559,000,000, or a decrease of 9 percent compared with the same period last year. At the same time, imports reached the value of $4.55 billion. Thus, some 80 percent of our trade deficit is with the countries of this region.

Exports to the developing countries increased 12 percent in the first half of this year. It is expected that only 90 percent of the planned exports worth $5.8 billion to the socialist countries will be realized. The failure to realize the planned exports is explained by the inability to deliver certain quantities of nonferrous metals and certain products of the food processing industry and consumer goods.

BRIEFS

CZECHOSLOVAK DEPUTY MINISTER--Metod Rotar, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for foreign trade, yesterday received Alois Hloch, Czechoslovak deputy minister of foreign trade, who is currently visiting our country at the head of his country's trade-economic delegation. Rotar and Hloch discussed the commodity exchange trends in the past 6 months. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jul 81 p 6 AU]